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# Southeast Asia Report

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## SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORT

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AUSTRALIA

#### REPORTAGE ON PROGRESS, OPPOSITION TO TAX PROPOSALS

#### Government To Go Ahead With Plans

BK260804 Melbourne Overseas Service in English 0430 GMT 26 Jun 85

[Text] The prime minister, Mr Hawke, says the government is prepared to go ahead with plans to introduce a consumption tax even though it could cause the government some seats in Parliament. Mr Hawke said the government had a mandate for tax reform and was prepared to take decisions it believed were best for Australia without heed for the effect on some marginal seats.

Speaking in Queensland, Mr Hawke accused the opposition parties of failing to make hard decisions for fear of the public response. The consumption tax of 12.5 percent on most goods and services is the preferred option the government will be supporting at a conference on tax in Canberra next month.

The consumption tax is being criticized by both government and opposition members of Parliament, business, and unions, but the prime minister said he remained convinced that it was the right thing to do.

The opposition leader, Mr Peacock, has said Mr Hawke's statement that he had a mandate for a tax reform is a myth. Mr Peacock said none of the government's reform plans had been put to the people during the last election campaign.

#### More Labor Party Opposition

BK250540 Melbourne Overseas Service in English 0430 GMT 25 Jun 85

[Text] There has been more opposition to the federal government's proposed consumption tax from members of the ruling Labor Party. The tax issue occupied the whole of the monthly conference of Labor's West Australian executives. The party's administrative committee put forward only a broad recommendation, saying that any tax reform should reflect the party's concept of social equity.

However, a successful amendment by (Jim McGinty) of the Miscellaneous Workers Union called on the federal government to widen the direct tax base instead of concentrating on indirect taxes and to make sure reform favored low-income earners. Mr (McGinty) said there was a fundamental flaw in any system which needed to have special compensation provisions for low-income earners.

The amendment was passed by 90 votes to 60 despite opposition from many speakers, including the defense minister, Mr Beazley.

Victorial Labor members rejected the consumption tax proposal on Sunday while the party's branches in South Australia, Queensland, and the Australian Capital Territory, had also opposed the government's tax package.

#### Farming Leader Attack

BK250625 Melbourne Overseas Service in English 0430 GMT 25 Jun 85

[Text] A Victorian farmer leader says the introduction of a capital gains tax will kill off farming. The president of the Victorian Farmers and Graziers Association, Mr (Des Crowe), was addressing the group's annual conference in Melbourne. More than 30,000 farmers took [word indistinct] and march in the Victorian capital yesterday, protesting at the effect of government economic policies.

Mr (Crowe) said the proposal for a capital gains tax was an example of the government's apparent failure to understand what farming was all about. He said part or all of family farms would have to be sold just to pay the capital gains tax burden. And if taxation removed capital appreciation, there would be no economic rationale for continuing farming. Mr (Crowe) also strongly criticized the government's assets test on pensions, saying that it discriminated against the farming community.

AUSTRALIA

#### BRIEFS

NEW ZEALAND FRIGATES ARRIVE—Two New Zealand Navy frigates have arrived in Sydney for exercises with units of the Australian Navy organized after the collapse of the ANZUS Treaty. ANZUS linked the two nations in a defense pack with the United States. The treaty arrangement has been inoperative since New Zealand refused to alter its policy of banning port visits by nuclear warships. The third New Zealand frigate is due to arrive later today. [Text] [Melbourne Overseas Service in English 0830 GMT 21 Jun 85]

TIGHTENED AIRLINE SECURITY—The Department of Aviation is meeting with international airlines operating in Australia to discuss ways to tighten security. The department is seeking information on new security measures following the recent series of hijacking and bombing incidents around the world. Australia's international airlines, Qantas, says it is already reviewing security measures on all its flights. A Radio Australia aviation reporter says that at present, all international passengers leaving Australia by air have their hand luggage checked, but their larger baggage usually goes onto the aircraft unchecked. [Text] [Melbourne Overseas Service in English 0130 GMT 25 Jun 85]

INDONESIA

#### FRETILIN RADIO BEGINS TEST TRANSMISSION

Lisbon TEMPO in Portuguese 30 May 85 p 32

[Text] "From the blue mountains of East Timor, and with the deepest emotion (...) I greet with redoubled confidence the people who have unselfishly been supporting the just cause of the people of Timor." Thus began the message read through the microphones of Radio Maubere by the Falintil commander, Kanana Gusmao, in a 45-minute broadcast on 19 April. It was the second time since 26 January that the Timor guerrillas broadcast abroad, as FRETILIN [Revolutionary Front for Rast Timor Independence] claimed this week at a press conference. Speaking on behalf of the organization, Abilio de Araujo accused a journalist from the agency NOTICIAS of Portugal, of "being paid by the Indonesians," and reiterated the fact that FRETILIN would not accept the results of any negotiations between Portugal and Indonesia which prove to be "contrary to the interests of the people of East Timor."

Xanana Gusmao's voice, taped before the transmission, somewhere inside East Timor, is confident and clear: "Also on behalf of FRETILIN, I greet with immense gratitude all the parties and organizers of various types, support committees and friendship associations, for the strong solidarity that they have always maintained with our struggle."

According to Abilio de Araujo, the transmitter in the hands of the Maubere patriots entered the territory during the second half of last year. It is mobile, has a range of 1,000 miles and completely covers the entire Pacific area where the territory of Timor is located. In other words, it reaches Australia, Indonesia, the Fiji Islands, the Republic of Vanuatu, Papua New Guinea and many other countries in the area. The frequencies are changed constantly, to prevent interference, and it has a "twin" in Sidney, Australia, which the government has threatened to hunt and seize.

Radio Maubere, whose first transmission during this "experimental phase" took place on 26 January, having then carried an air "raid" made by "Tiger" and "Bronco" aircraft (the taping of the over-flight and subsequent bombing is clear), was, however, used this week (it broadcasts for 45-minute intervals twice a week) for a press conference in Australia, in the mountains north of Sidney, attended by 22 journalists, as well as prominent Australian government representatives and trade union representatives.

The Australian television network, ABC, which was also present at the meeting, aired at night the Indonesian ambassador's denial of the existence of a broadcasting station among the guerrillas, but added to the report a 1942 film showing an Australian force surrounded by Japanese in the Timor jungle, using a transmitter-receiver to contact Australia.

Meanwhile, the powerful Maubere transmitter has been used successfully to air abroad reports on the military situation in East Timor, which have just been compiled by the FRETILIN delegation abroad and published in a 44-page account containing very detailed information on the progress of the politico-military situation from August 1983 up until 19 April.

The most recent information in the exhaustive report concerns the violence which the Indonesian troops continue to commit against the populace, with compulsory recruitment of youths of school age, called "pemudas," removing men from agricultural production, ordering the destruction of papaya, palm and banana crops and other sources of the Timor population's nutritional subsistence, and using all kinds of torture on women and children.

Xanana Gusamo claims: "The population was forbidden to prepare the soil for the second season, for reasons of security for the enemy posts located there; day and night, they patrolled the vicinity of the fields to catch or scare the population, which only ventures a few meters from the vegetable plot to gather kindling." The Timor commander adds: "They take food from the population and, at best, promise to pay at the end of their commission. When Battalion 513 was preparing to ship out, the population only requested payment for the provisions that they had taken, either from houses or gardens. Many left, merely behind the people's backs, and a few tossed out some used uniforms in payment. A poor woman with three small children, whose husband had been massacred, tried to explain that those clothes were of no use to her or to the children, but the Indonesian soldier, laughing sarcastically, responded by snatching the uniform from the woman's hands, saying: 'If it's no use to you, get out!'"

Abilio de Araujo who, starting this week, will be assisted in Portugal by Olimpio Brando, appointed by the organization as delegate in our country, denied that there is any hesitation on the part of the five African countries whose official language is Portuguese about the support that they are rendering to FRETILIN. He also claimed that the next meeting of the non-aligned countries, set for September in Luanda, an occasion on which Soeharto will attempt to be elected president of the movement, may, morever, largely decide on the future of the Timor issue. He also noted that it was the Indonesian newspaper, JAKARTA POST, which reported that Brazil would back Jakarta's propositions in the UN this year, if Timor should be discussed in the General Assembly; but claimed that this was untrue, and that Itamarati has already denied the report. He said: "Furthermore, if there is any about-face, it will be to discredit Indonesia's propositions, simply because Latin America is in a complete process of democratization, and we even have a delegation on the continent now, to visit and alert the governments of Brazil, Guatemala and Mexico."

Finally, the FRETILIN delegate abroad scored the behavior of the correspondent for the NOTICIAS agency of Portugal in Australia, Cristovao Santos, "a man whom we know well," expressing the view that he is carrying out in that country a "campaign of slander very well paid for by the Indonesians."

As for the talks which Portugal has held in New York with Indonesia, Abilio de Araujo was peremptory: "We don't want to interfere, simply because we have no desire to serve as a reason for Indonesia to give up the talks. But FRETILIN will never accept a solution which ignores the legitimate interests of the people of Timor."

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#### MALAYSTA

## USNO SECRETARY GENERAL DENIES LEADERSHIP RIFT

## Kuala Lumpur NEW STRAITS TIMES in English 1 May 85 p 1

## [Text]

KOTA KINABALU.
Tues. — Usno secretary-general Datuk
Haji Idrus Matakim
today denied that he
had fallen out of fayour with the party's
leadership.

He said se had been ill for the last few weeks and, therefore, was not able to play an active role in Usno's election campaign.

He denied rumours
that he had submitted his

resignation to the party.
"I am a man of principle. I am not like others who jump from one political party to another without strong convictions."

Datuk Idrus was not nominated as a candidate by Usno in the recent State election, which fuelled speculation that he had fallen out of favour with the party leaders.

His audden disappear-

ance from party activities after the nomination day on April 2 and the appointment of Datuk Hamid bin Tun Mustapha as the acting party secretary-general further fuelled rumours.

Datuk Idrus denied that he was dropped as a candidate for the State election on April 20 and

"I am getting old and I am not in the best of health. That is why I had asked the party not to nominate me as a candidate.

"I also wanted to give the younger members a chance to stand as candidates and be more active in party affairs," he said.

#### Illness

He said rumours of his defection to another political party was the work of irresponsible elements "who have been spreading a lot of lies".

He said he would assume his duties as secretary-general when he recovers from his illness.

"I am currently having a break from the heetic political scene," he added.

On the party's capture of 16 seats in the State elections. Datuk Idrus said it showed that Usno was making a comeback as a "force to be reckoned with".

He said Usno would continue its struggle for a fair and just administration for the people of Sabab.

Usno president Tun Datu Haji Mustapha bin Datu Harun today confirmed that the party had not received any resignation letter from Datuk ldrus.

"As far as we are concerned, he is still with lisno," Tun Mustapha said.

MALAYSIA

#### BERJAYA'S SABAH DEFEAT EXPLAINED

## Kuala Lumpur NEW STRAITS TIMES in English 5 May 85 p 2

[Text]

IT is the weight of the Kadazan vote that swept Berjaya out of power. With this support, Ber-jaya toppled Usno in 1976. But now this support has gone to the new Parti Bersatu Sabah (PBS) which also has the support of about half the Chinese voters.

In 1976 the Huguen Siour (paramount leader) of the Kadazans, the late Tun Mohamad Fund Stephens, led

aya and the Kadasans to victory.

• Kadasans were almost solidly behind Usno d. . ng the heyday of the party as their leader was with Usno.

But when he resigned as Yang di-Pertua Negeri to and Berjaya against Usno, the Kadazans voted Berjaya

The general complaint of the community then was the "excesses" of Usno and its massive campaign to equvert Christian Kadazans to the Islamic faith.

This time around their complaints were the same but futher compounded by what they claim to be "efforts to de-identify them as a race"

The Berjaya Government's decided in 1980 to use the term pribumi for all natives. In official documents they were referred to as pri-bumi not Kadazans. While the other communities also resented the term, the Kadazans became the most vocal in their demand for the withdrawal of the term.

The then Government also declared the harvest festival, the main festival celebrated by the Kadazans, a pesta rakyat.

The Kadazans complained that the move made the festival no longer an exclusive festival for the community.

Many Kadazans including those in the Government protested. Among them was a State Minister and Berjaya vice-president Datuk Joseph Pairin Kitingan. Meanwhile, Datuk Pairin was already elected the Huguan Siow by the Kadazan Cultural Association to replace the late Tun Fuad.

In 1983 he even defied the Government and his party by organsing a harvest festival exclusively for the Kadazans after the official one in Keningau was over.

Matters came to a head and he was forced to resign from the party and had to give up his Tambunan seat.
The Kadazans now had their leader outside the Government. And when he led them against Berjaya

they followed.

Many of the Chinese in the State read the "writing on the wall" and decided to cast their lot with the new party. Some, uncertain, remained with Berjaya

To some Chinese supporting the Kadazan cause was almost "natural" to them as they had close relations with them and also family ties. There are many Sino-Kadazans in the State.

Thus when the Kadazans deserted the Berjaya, the party was sunk.

The Muslims had long complained that they had been neglected. Many of them are fishermen and in many of their areas, the villagers are living well below poverty level.

The Malays especially the Bajaus are faithful Mus-lims and when they were told that the "Tun" (Usno president Tun Mustapha Harun) was back to lead them, they welcomed and supported him.

The Malays, used to the traditional leaders, remained faithful to Usno and Tun Mustapha since independence in 1963 and even during the 1976 elections.

In 1981 when Usno was in the Barisan and foresaken by the Tun who was not in the State to lead them, they voted for Berjaya

But now that he is back, they have railled to his side.

MALAYSTA

#### PAS ACCUSED OF MISLEADING MUSLIMS

Kuala Lumpur NEW STRAITS TIMES in English 4 May 85 p 5

[Text]

BANGI, Fri. — Tereng-ganu Menteri Besar Da-tuk Amar Wan Mokhlar today accused Pas leaders of misleading Muslims by misinterpreting the meaning of assabiah (sectarianism) and equating it with nationalism.

Pas leaders have given a narrow interpretation of nationalism which is championed by Umno and are exploiting the ig-morance of the masses by equating it with assa-

These leaders also claim nationalism is anti-Islam as assobigh has been considered to be against the teachings of the religion.

## Racial

They even use some obscure hadith (Islamic tradition) to support their claim of the similarity between assabish and nationalism," he said at the opening of a se-minar on "The Tide of

National Politics" organised by the Social Science and Humanities Faculty of the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

Datuk Wan Mokhtar who is also the chairman of Umno's political buragbigh is taken from the word toasub in Arabic which means fanatic.

"Assabiah means a strong racial feeling. coupled with self-interest and hatred against other groups which can arouse the ideology of class, resulting in discord between one group and another."

Contrary to this, the nationalism advocated by Umno is something which can lead to a feeling of humanitarianism and brotherhood among

the people.

The bastion of nation: I political struggle in this country is the Malays and the bastion of the Malave to Islam.

Datuk Amar Wan Mokhtar, who is also Umno vice-president, said: "Other things like economy, social status and group interest, cannot become the basis of this struggle as the interest and involvement of

these groups change ac-cording to the situation." But Islam is equal to every person in terms of interest and involvement and can be considered as a unifying fac-tor in national politics.

leiam portrays a perfect way of life and covers all aspects including social, spiritual, economic and poli-

tical fields.
If only one aspect is taken as the basic political strug-gle. It cannot be accepted by the people and such a strug-gle will not last."

Umno realises this fact

Umno realises this fact ever since it was formed and it is because of this that the party chooses Islam as the basis for national politics. The people will feel safe under a simple and flexible form of struggle such as in Umno which also serves as an umbrella for non-Malay molitical marties political parties.

MALAYSIA

#### CLARIFICATION OF U.S. GSP SOUGHT

Kuala Lumpur BUSINESS TIMES in English 4 May 85 p 1

[Article by Hardev Kaur]

[Text]

EFFORTS are being made by Malaysian authorities to obtain a clearer picture of the purported about-turn of the US in removing US\$145 million of Malaysian exports from its Generalised System of Preferences (GSP).

For starters, official sources described the move by US acting trade representative Michael Smith as "worrisome."

If the report is correct, Malaysia is set to lose a substantial amount under the new list of products eligible for entry into the US under its GSP.

In the list effective from July 15 this year, some US\$1.95 billion of imports have been dropped. With the new list, Malaysia's share of that is said to be US\$145 million.

Last year. Malaysia exported goods valued at US\$177 million to the US under its GSP. It was understood to be the 17th leading supplier out of

the 140 beneficiaries under the programme.

Sources pointed out that Malaysia's eligibility under the new list could have been reduced due to the Competitive Need Limits (CNL).

Last year, none of Malaysia's exports was subjected to the CNL but sources believed that this year some of the products could be excluded.

The CNL rules establish a ceiling for duty-free imports from developing countries of 50 per cent of all imports in that product category, or US\$63.8 million in value. The sources said some of Malaysia's products could have exceeded those amounts, thus triggering off the CNL mechanism.

While no other details were immediately available, initial calculations based on last year's performance show that Malaysia's benefit from the scheme would be reduced to just US\$32 million.

The paradox is that

Malaysians could have exported even more under the US GSP since Malaysian exporters currently did not make full use of the facility because of a lack of information of the acheme.

In 1963, for example, Malaysia utilised only 32.3 per cent of its eligibility under the scheme.

The new list also affects other developing countries whose products have been excluded from the list, but four new products which benefit Taiwan and South Korea have been added.

Sources noted that the annual review was the final one prior to a general review of the competitiveness of all beneficiary countries. This will take into account the development of the country concerned and the openness of its economy to American goods, services and investment.

Meanwhile, it is understood that the US is planning to haive the CNL from 50 per cent to 25. This means that more products from developing countries would be excluded from the GSP eligibility list.

Malaysia is understooto be preparing its case
for a waiver for its products to be submitted to
the US authorities by
May 31. The country,
sources said, was justified in presenting its case
due to the importance of
the industries, such as
electronics, to the deveiopment of the industrial
countries.

The government is also understood to be preparing various copyright laws in the country which provide for protection of intellectual property. These will also be submitted to the US authorities for consideration.

Sources said this information was being prepared so that the US authorities could take the pertinent information into account as it had agreed to extend the GSP for another eight-and-ahalf years till mid-1993.

MALAYSIA

#### MANUFACTURES MAKE UP 30 PERCENT OF EXPORTS

Kuala Lumpur BUSINESS TIMES in English 6 May 85 pp 1, 24

[Article by Fauziah Haji Ismail]

[Text]

THE growth a non-commodity production, ranging from steel production to the national car, has put manufacturing at the top of the Malaysian export league contributing over 30 per cent of total exports in 1984.

The manufacturing sector, which contributed about 19 per cent of Malaysia's GNP last year, grew by nine per cent.

The director of Malaysian Exhibition Services Sdn Ehd (MES) and Overseas Exhibition Services L'd of London (OES),? Randle Theobald, tole a conference in Singapore last Friday that industry had recently grown faster than the national average, eapecially transport equipment, food liems, electrical machinery and wood-based products.

wood-based products.
Mr Theobald said since independence, the economy had grown quickly and wealth from basic resources had been channelled into diversifying the economy through rapid industrialisation.

The economy has the

capacity for further rapid growth and as emphasis switches from
electronics and textiles
to manufacturing and
heavy industry, the prospects for trade and investment by Singapore
businessmen are very
bright," ne said.
He added that Midland

He added that Midland Bank International in its 1985 Spotlight Moleysia noted that Malaysia could expect uninterrupted growth of production and real income during the 1980s.

Mr Theobald said Business Week's 1965 "Foreign Investors' Survey" found that 87.6 per cent of respondents considered Malaysia a good place to do business.

Describing Maleysia as an exciting market, Mr Theobald urged Singaporean businessmen to participate in a series of exhibitions and conferences scheduled to be held at the US\$200 million Putra World Trade Centre (PWTC).

They include Training '86', 'Machine Tool '86'

and "Industry Trade Fair

MES marketing manager Jonathan Kan described the PWTC as one of the most modern and efficient display centres in the region.

He added that trade ex-

He added that trade exhibitions were a most cost-efficient medium for promoting trade.

The provides the added benefit of instant and economical research by way of in.mediate feedback from visitors and at the same time afford exhibitors the opportunity of comparing their products with their competitors.

"It also permits a hands on impact that cannot be duplicated by other forms of promotion." Mr Kan said.

Mr Kan added that the tapering down of the Singapore economy meant fewer business opportunities for the republic's investor community.

"This has led to a significant increase in interest in N alaysia's investment potential," he concluded.

MALAYSTA

TUNKU URGES PBS, USNO UNION

Kuala Lumpur NEW STRAITS TIMES in English 1 May 85 p 1

[Text]

KOTA KINABALU, Tues. - Former Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj in a recent congratulatory message to the new Sabah Government has suggested that Parti Bersatu Sabah (PBS) form an alliance with Usno.

The elder statesman said he had suggested to Usno president Tun Mustapha Datu Harun to make the approach to Datuk Joseph Pairin Kitingan but "unfortunately before he (Tun Mustapha) received my note he went to form an alliance with a party which could

not make a majority."

The congratulatory message which was made available to newsmen by the Chief Minister's office today added that if Datuk Pairin could overlook Tun Musta pha's mistake (and form a coalition) the State Gov ernment would make a good impression on the Sabah public.

Tunku Abdul Rahman said that the PBS Gov

ernment would always need the support of the people in order to ensure peace and goodwill in the State.

He also suggested that the new Government nominate some Muslims to the State Assembly to avoid the charge of being anti-Islamic.

Chief Minister Datuk Pairin in a reply to the Tun-

ku's message expressed his gratitude and said he appreciated the Tunku's advice.

The message which was cabled to the Tunku today added that the primary purpose of PBS was to promote understanding and goodwill among all the people in order to work together for a better life.

"I assure Tunku we welcome the support and cooperation of the Opposition parties, including Usno.

## Promote goodwill

"We hope both Usno and Berjaya will serve as a constructive and helpful Opposition to facilitate the State Government's task of nation-building," he said.

He said the new Government had nominated some Muslims to the State legislature and furthermore three Muslim Berjaya members had crossed over to

Datuk Pairin assured the Tunku that the PBS would at all times uphold its electoral pledges and in discharging the responsibilities of government, it would act competently and fairly.

He said that the Government would seek the goodwill and support of the Opposition parties, including Usno.

4200/1019 GSO:

MALAYSIA

#### MCA APPROVES PBS ENTRY IN BN

Kuala Lumpur NEW STRAITS TIMES in English 1 May 85 p 1

[Text]

KUALA LUMPUR, Tues. - The MCA central committee softened its stand over the application by Parti Bersatu Sabah to join the Barisan Nasional because the PBS had apologised to the Chinese community over a speech made by its deputy president Mr Mark Koding in 1978 on Chinese schools and the use of the Chinese language, an MCA official said today.

The official (a central committee member who did not want to be named) said a Chinese daily recently carried a report in which PBS president and Sabah Chief Minister Datuk Joseph Pairin Kitingan and Mr Koding, who is also Sabah De-

puty Chief Minister, made the apology.

The official was commenting on the central committee meeting yesterday in which it expressed its satisfaction with the explanations given by the two PBS leaders over the speech.

The committee has now given the mandate to party representatives in the Barisan Nasional to decide at the appropriate time the application by PBS to join the BN.

The MCA had said

The MCA had said last week it found it "extremely difficult" to support the application by PBS because of Mr Koding's speech.

Former MCA Youth chairman Datuk Lee Kim Sai said the central committee was confusing the party members over its stand on the matter of the PBS application.

## EDITORIAL: IMPROVE INFANT NUTRITION

Kuala Lumpur NEW STRAITS TIMES in English 12 May 85 p 16

## [Text]

There was a time, not very long ago, when infants in the rural areas were fed mashed rice and condensed milk. This was, more often than not, a child's normal diet until he or she was able to consume other foods such as bananas, biscuits or local cakes. The results were often pitiful.

Surveys have shown that children who are undernourished or malnourished become stunted, weak, passive and highly susceptible to diseases. In school, 'hey are less active and alert. As adults, they are often at a disadvantage compared with those who had had a better start in life.

Realising this, the Government, has for some time now, launched projects to educate rural folk on the importance of eating good food. Consistent efforts have also been made to raise the standard of living among the poor. The former without the latter would be a sheer waste. Without the means, the people would only continue to cat food that has inadequate nutritional value. When this happens, it is the children who suffer most.

The Government projects, thus far, have shown a measure of success. More people are now conscious of the food they eat. Bables are drinking formula or full-cream milk. Pregnant mothers are supplementing their diet with vitamin pills, nursing mothers are eating better food and more children are less prone to sickness in the early years of their lives.

Despite this, there are still cases of

hidden malnutrition in parts of the country. As late as last year, the Institute of Medical Research published findings from a four-year study that indicated a high incidence of inadequate nutrition among pre-school and primary school children in the rural areas.

Such facts are distressing given the economic and social progress that has been achieved in this country so far. The only practical solution to the problem would be to reassess the many projects that have been implemented over the years. Those that are ineffective should be abandoned and those that have been found to have some effect on the targeted group should be reassessed and, perhaps, strengthened either with more manpower or money.

This week, Universiti Sains Malaysia announced that it will reassess a nine-year-old government nutrition project called the Applied Nutrition Project (ANP) and launched for the benefit of rural primary schools. The USM study, funded by the National Research and Science Development Council of the Ministry of Science, Technology and Environment, will, among other things, determine whether children have become better achievers under such a project. If not, a new approach will have to be adopted.

Such studies are necessary if the country is not to have pockets of people, especially children, suffering from malnutrition. Not in this day and age. Cases of malnutrition can only make a mockery of our development efforts.

MALAYSIA

#### BAKUN HYDEL PROJECT APPROVAL LIKELY

Kuala Lumpur BUSINESS TIMES in English 6 May 85 pp 1, 24

[Article by P. Gunasegaram]

#### [Text]

THERE are strong indi-cations that the goverament will proceed with the mammoth Ba-kun project to harness the tremendous hydro-electric power potential in farawak for transmission to Penincular Malaysia via submarine

cables.

Tender documents are believed to be in preparation for the various

tion for the various stages of the first phase which is expected to cost \$3.2 billion at 1983 prices.
The preparation of tender documents is expected to be completed next year, after which, if all goes well, tenders would be called, sources and

They added that a road has already been built to the first dam site at Bakun on the Balul River, a tributary of Malaysia's

iongest river, the Rejang.
The Bakun project is expected to generate 2,400 mW at full capacity, which is equivalent to the present anticommunication. present entire installed capacity in Peninsular Malaysia. It is envisaged that eventually 1,500 mW would be transmitted to

the peninsula.

The first phase involves the construction of the dam and penerating

facilities at Bakun at a cost of \$4 billion, the installation of transmission system for Sabah and Sarawak coeting \$2 billion and the laying of two high voltage submar-ine cable links between Sarawak and the penin-sula costing \$2.2 billion. Each will have a carrying capacity of 375 mW or a total of 750 mW.

An industry source said that the first stage would be economically viable if 780 mW of power are transmitted to the peninsula. This can be done with the construc-tion of the 600-km sub-marine link between Tanjung Datu in Sarawak and Tanjung Sedili in Jo-

The link can be expanded to four lines carrying 375 mW each later as more hydro-electric power stations are brought on stream in

If construction starts in 1988, as is currently envisaged in some quarters, the first phase would come on stream in 1996 and full capacity would be achieved a year

By the year 2000, the dam at Murum generat-ing 900 mW would have

been commissioned and the second cable link es-tablished. The Pelagus project supplying 770 mW would come mW would come on stream in 2005, followed by Belaga (230 mW) in 2007 and Baleh (850 mW) in 200

Finally, the dam at Baram generating 1,300 mW is expected to follow suit, giving total new power generation of 4,350 mW over a period of

some twenty years.
All these dwarf the 82 mW dam at Betang Al which is just coming on stream.

The source said that although the first phase involved heavy capital costs, it was still compar-atively cheaper than other methods of generating electricity.

For instance, construction of thermal plants to generate an equivalent amount of electricity to that of the first phase would cost \$7 billion. To gether with the cost of building transmission networks of about \$2 billion, the total cost for equivalent thermal gen-eration would be 30 bil-lion against the \$8.2 bil-lion for the first phase of the hydro project.

Further, the hydro pro-

ject would be a renewable source of energy and no inputs were necessary to produce the power which would mean substantial reduction in running costs and perhaps lower electricity tariff rates.

The dam system is also expected to generate other benefits in terms of flood mitigation and irrigation for agricultural projects. But a major problem is likely to be resettlement of those living in affected areas and inundation of rich timberbearing forest areas.

The source said that harnessing of hydro-electric power would be in line with the government's four-fuel strategy which seeks to reduce de-pendence on oil for enrgy by increasingly utilising hydro-electric power, gas and coal. Currently, over 80 per cent of the country's energy needs are met through Ha

As part of the energy diversification process, a 900 mW gas-fired power station has already been commissioned in Paka, Terengganu, while a 800 mW coal-fired power sta-tion costing \$1.2 billion in Port Kelang would come on stream in 1968.

MALAYSTA

#### TIN OVERSUPPLY THREATENS MARKET

Kuala Lumpur BUSINESS TIMES in English 6 May 85 pp 1, 24

[Article by Hardev Kaur]

[Text]

THE over-supply of tin coming onto the market must be stopped immediately. This is essential to bring about a speedy balance between supply and demand and to bring the world tin market back to normalcy.

Primary Industries Binister Datal. Leong Khee Scong said that with a demand of only between 100,000 and 170,000 tunnes yearly, and an uncontrolled stock of some 50,000 tunnes, continued over-supply could have a devast sting effect on the tin market. This had happened in 1829 and in the late 1950s.

Speaking at the 50th anniversary celebrations of the Perak Chinese Mining Association in Ipoh last night, Datuk Leong warned that with continued over supply, the market would be flooded, resulting in a

disastrees fall 1. price, which night not benefit or support even the lowest cost producer.

While some had advocated a "free mar et.". thinking that due to their low cost of production; they would be able to make press r profits as a result of toeir competitive position. But in mining this is seldom the case as has been proven in the past.

In a free-for-all situation, the tendency is for everyone to over produce in the belief that the reduction in revenue due to sliding prices, brought about by over supply in the market, could be reesuped by selling more and more. In the process the market would be flooded and Dutuk Leong likened this unfettered activity to "killing the guine that lays the folden egg."

He anid empirical evidence indicated that very few mines could exist, if prices were to fall below \$15 a kg.

The present difficult tin situation had taken its tall on development in general in Perak. There has been a slowdown in reconome activities in the main mining towns in the state such as ipoh. Kampar, Taiping and Bicor. This had resulted in the state diversifying its economic dependence, moving away from tin as

the main source of re-

Although the picture was gloomy. Datuk I one said the situation rould have been worse foot for the existence the International T. Agreement 11TA: Through the International Tin Council 11TC:

"we are making slow but strady progress in preventing a collapse in tin prace."

The price of the metal has fallen below the floor of the buffer stock price range. Its downward slide was arrested on Friday when the price moved up 30 cents on the Kunla Lumpur Tin Market (KLTM) but it was still \$1.36 cents below the floor of the buffer stock price range of \$29.13 cents a kg.

Unfortunately, all this means sacrifice on the part of miners to protect the overall well-being of the industry and the nation. This is a necessary sacrifice to prevent a worse situation, Datuk Leong said.

"It calls for continued cullective, as well as indi-

vidual discipline and the fostering of unity and cooperation in the mining circle. Breaking ranks at this juncture would only spell disaster," he warned.

Datak Leong noted that since mineral resources still contributed significantly to the nation's income, it was in the interest of the industry, as well as the nation, to uphold integrity of purpose and unity of action.

The Primary Indus-

The Primary Industries Ministry has undertaken a study and considered various facets of events that could happen without the ITC. It clearly aboved that without the ITC, the tin industry would have faced a much more complicated and serious situation which would even threaten its very economic existence and future.

The Ministry was convinced of the usefulnesss of the ITC mechanisms in trying to achieve stability in the tin market, Datuk Leong said.

While sympathising with the industry and noting that export controls have been imposed by the ITC to the tune of 25.6 per cent on producer members. Datuk Leong hoped that tin miners would fully understand the issues.

This is the time when the industry and the government must remain united and work together towards achieving the cummon goal for a better future for the industry. It is important for us to work together positively to meet the challenges that will continue to face us in the years to come." Datuk Leong said.

While dealing with our real problems, the long term viability of the industry should not be forgotten. There was a need for the industry to prepare for eventual recovery and convert "current challenges facing us to an opportunity and become more productive and efficient."

Datuk Loung stressed that it was imperative for the industry to give serious consideration to the value-added approach in the tin industry and to diversify mining activities so ar not to be over dependent on tin. One area of great potential was development of industrial minerals.

#### MALAYSTA

#### GAS PIPELINE ROUTE APPROVED

Kaula Lumpur BUSINESS TIMES in English 16 Hay 85 pp 1, 22

[Article by Hardev Kaur]

[Text]

THE route for phase two of Petronas' Peninsular Gas Utilisation Project (PGUP) has been finalised. The trans-peninsular gas pipeline will run from Telok Kalong in Terengganu to Johore Baru and to Port Dickson and Port Kelang. This study is estimated to have cost "several million ringgl".

The job was undertahen by a consortium specifically set up for the
study headed by Malaysia Mining Corporation
(MMC). The other members were Juruters Konsultant (BEA) Bdn Bhd
and N.V. Nederlandse
Gasunie, a Dutch firm
with more than 20 years'
experience in gas pipeline technology.

The consortium also participated in the prequalification of the second stage of the project in project management consultancy and detailed engineering.

it is understood that a number of well-known international names have submitted their bids for the exercise. The final stage will be the construction of the pipeline.
scheduled for completion
in late 1989

The contract for the PGUP phase two was awarded to the MMC led consortium in March last year and the final report on the project was presented to the national oil corporation in November last year.

The total length of the trans-peninsular gas pipeline will be more than 100 km. This, however, does not include the pipeline from Kerteh to Kota Baru, the route selection and optimisation study of which has also been completed as an extension of the principal contract.

This is believed to be

This is believed to be the first oil and gas engineering project undertaken by MMC, the world's largest tin company, which is diversifying from its traditional

A total of 2,055 maps and drawings were made, consisting of 620 route maps, 263 detailed drawings, 47 facilities and 285 land acquisition plans.

According to the then project manager. Encik

Abdul Rashid Sidek, the project involved among others, surveying, soil investigation, land search, pipeline route selection and budget preparation study.

Though a relatively new field in this country. the project was undertaken with the maximum use of local expertise and minimum dependence on foreign consultancy.

foreign consultancy.

"About 80 per cent of the value of work as well as the actual physical work was done by locals,"

Encik Abdul Rashid ad-

The pipeline when fully implemented will form the national gas grid, making it possible for natural gas from off-shore. Terengganu to be transmitted to the west coast.

The trans-peninsular gas pipeline will begin at Telok Kalong and move south to Segamat where it will branch ime two one to Gemas and the west coast and the other to Pientong where lateral lines will extend to Pasir Gudang and Johore Baru, and subsequently to Singapore. From Gemas, the pipeline will

head north to Scremban. Puchong and Port Kellang.

Just north of Scremban a lateral line will branch off to supply the Tuanku Jaafar power station in Port Dickson. A third lateral line will run from Puchong to the Connaught Bridge power station.

The pipeline network covers almost the entire lower part of Peninsular Malaysia, cutting through Terenggam, Johore, Pahang, Negri Bembilan and Belangor.
According to MMC, the

According to MMC, the pipeline route passes through different terrain ranging from awampy jungle to accondary jungle, with the surface profile ranging from flat to

undulating.

The gas from offshore is processed at Kerteh. The gas processing plant in Kerteh received its first offshore natural gas supply for processing on Aug. 15, 1984. The processed gas is being piped to consumers in Terengganu via an existing network running from Paka, just north of Kerteh, to Telok Kalong in the south.

#### OPPOSITIONIST CHARGES NEW ELECTION CODE FAVORS KBL

Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 4 May 85 pp 1, 2

[Article by Ben Evardone]

[Text]

The committee dection code proposed by the ruling perty and, now being fimilized in the Batesen Panbanes, contains provisions that are "talkemade for cheeting," a former Constitutional Convention delegate mid yesterday.

"The prospects for a demonstrate election are not nice," cold hispoleone G. Rama, former Con-Con vice president, in his identified what his additionable in the proposal of the Kilmong Bagong Lipusan (KBL).

Rama cited, among others, the proposed restoration of the constituting registration of youter, bloc voting in the presidential polls, and the 7 s.m. to 5 p.m. you in period.

Rams said the continuing registration of voters had eachief the EBL to "rig sloctions" by padding the list of voters with what he gaid were "ghost, fake, military

Rama said bite voting "provides a track system of measurfacturing or filling up a great meeting of falor ballots through the simple process" of writing these faithful ESE, fastend of hering to write the measure of the second statement state

On the repting hims, Rame said: "dericans is the best friend of cheening." The counting of votes usually bigins two to three boson after the

Rame tagged the EM maniture of the Batana completes on invident and constitutional amendments in "unfalsing or femoural of" for large proposed for these provisions in the code. The committee

is handed by Publical Affalsy Milatone Located B. Breet

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Asserting Jr. Sweet upon
out by the EBL in the
fact of alleged meaning

The committee on product of laws in now familiang the proposed yell, code which is embedded in Cabbart Mill No. 2. The code will provide all fathers do-

Opposition members of the committee have sought the repeat of objectionable provisions in the code, including these clied by Rame.

VERITAS REPORTS 'POLL FEVER' IN PROVINCES

Quezon City VERITAS in English 19 May 85 p 8

[Text]

RE-the 1986 local elections still a year away? Judging from the fever of activity sweep-ing the provinces visited by Veri-tar last week, the elections may really be just around the corner.

Where Veritas was last week, it appears that possible candidates for governors and city mayors, whether Opposition or KBL will come mostly from that group of hard-core politicians of the pre-

hard-core politicisms of the premartial law days, the same group
of men who, in business parlance, were downgraded during
the reorganization of the corporate ship (which to us, was all that
martial law regime meant).

However, there may be a few
susprises in certain areas like in
the province of Iloilo where it is
bruited about that Philippine Air
Force (PAF) chief, Brig. Gen.
Vicente Piccio is interested in the
governomip. Piccio is an Ilongo
whose family roots are in the
town of Massin, practically a
neighbor to the town of Miag-so,
ancestral seat of Iloilo's present
governor Conrado Norada.

The Iloilo governor who rose

governor Conrado Norada.

The Iloilo governor who rose to fame as a novelist (in the Ilongo dialect) has been in office too long, Ilongos noted. A loyal partyman (KBL), Norada, however, has lost his allure among his constituents. During the 1984 election, Iloilo votes went Opposition. Of the five seats alloted to

the province in the Batasang Pambansa, the first two slots were won by Fermin Caram and Ar-thur Defensor (both of the Unido), the third by Rafael Palmares (NP) and the last two by Salvador Britanico and Narciso

Salvador Britanico and Narciso Monfort (KBL).

Britanico and Monfort won not so much because they were the KBL candidates but they were reportedly not supported wholeheartedly by the party's boss, KBL regional chairman Roberto Benedicto.

Scarces told Verter that the

Sources told Veritar that the KBL might replace governor Norada as KBL provincial chairman with Britanico. When this happens, the KBL would have written "finis" to Norada's political career - meanwhile, will Piccio, a military officer, be a wise choice considering that he simply, at this stage, does not have a political base to claim, not even in his home town?

This development leaves the floilo province's political field open to former governor Rafael almares, now an assemblyman who ran under the NP banner. Palmares, who was also an ex-senstor is an old hand in politics. Sources said further that the NP is not really an Opposition party, citing the manner Palmares sought to defend Roberto Benedicto when the ambassador came under fire in the Batasang Pambansa in connection with alleged anomalies in the sugar industry.

N THE other hand, in Ilo-ilo City, the KBL does not have much choice – it will have to limit its choice for the mayoralty post among former city mayors Renerio Ticao and Zafiro Ledesina and ex-senator, ex-detainee and also ex-mayor Rodolfo Gan-

However, the vote-rich city (160,000 voters) is clearly "Caram" (MP Fermin Caram, Unido) country. Caram was the Ilongo's first choice in the 1984 elections. His victory, sources told Veritas, was definitely a repudiation of Roberto Benedicto's political leadership in the area. Caram spearheads, at present, a move in the Batasang Pambansa to continue the investigation on the alleged anomalies in the sugar indus-

try linking Benedicto.

Over in Cebu, it is bruited about that ex-senator Rene Espina will make a bid to get his party's (LP) nomination for governor. This will pit him against incumbent governor Eduardo Gullas (KBL) who confirmed his re-election bid with Veritas on May 9 at the Montebello hotel.

But Cebu, which went KBL during the 1984 election is re-portedly under the grip of strongman former congressman Ramon

Durano, Sr. Colleagues working in Cebu local papers maintain that Durano, Sr., whose business concerns include those in coal, sugar, cement, paper mills, barges and bakeries, among others has Cebu secured for the KBL. Besides, Durano Sr. has blood kins positioned in the political hierarchy in the province. A son, Ramon Durano, Jr. is city mayor of Danao while another, Ramonito Duran III is assemblyman. Another son, Tadeo Durano is mayor of Sogod town while nephew Roland Duterte is Cebu City mayor. A son-in-law, Emerito Calderon is also member of parliament.

Durano, Sr. governor Gullas may handily win the governor-ship of Cebu again. The surprise may come in the form of Minnie Osmeña, who, sources said, might just pick up the pieces of her late father's (ex-senstor Sergio Osmeña) political career. When this happens, observers noted, Gullas and the Duranos will have a problem in their hands.

In the fight for the mayorship in the city of Cebu with a voting population of 275,000, the Opposition will reportedly field John "Sonny" Osmefia (LP), a nephew of the late Senstor Sergio Osmefia, "Sonny" Osmefia, who has had his political baptism

when he ran and won as delegate to the 1971 Constitutional Convention does not seem however to have the support of the Cebu media and the "intelligentsia." If he makes it, it will largely be because of the Osmeña name which still means a lot down south.

If the unity of the Duranos in Cebu makes for a strong KBL in the area, the existing feud between the Teves brothers in Dumaguste weakens the party in nearby Negros Oriental.

Incumbent governor Lorenzo Teves, who was also ex-senator may not get the support of his brother, ex-congressman Herminio Teves, who has a daughter who is married to Batangas governor Joey Laurel (Unido).

Further, in Dumaguete city, the KBL had a problem with incumbent mayor Lorenzo Maxino who did not support the party's standard bearer during the 1984 election but instead campaign for his brother who was with the Opposition Pusyon-Visaya.

position Pusyon-Vissya.

Besides, governor Teves who is also KBL provincial chairman is very much identified with Ambassador Roberto Benedicto, who, as Philsucom boss, has alienated many of the sugar planters not only in Negros Oriental but more so in neighboring Negros Occidental. — VAL V. VICENTE/

## SERIOUS NEGROS SITUATION PROFILED

Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 3, 4, 5 May 85

[Three-part article by Pinky Concha Colmenares]

[3 May 85 pp 1, 16]

[Text]

R is a roop against time in the onceaffinent province of Negros Occidental

Farm work and of province is warried over the displacement of all least 300,000 regar workers in its leaguest of militing concerns as far — from April, to mility October.

The rote is ignical binger and a greetage increase problem. I make the part but this year, they are finding it difficult to get financing even for the part financing even financing even for the part financing even financin

A retent study on dental by the Regree Barbaro Revent found the property of super plantage to street with bushs Many of

Last month, Banded Blaken Mage: Antonio Y. Portick make before a group of \$,000 labor over in Opingaio Enthus kales. The bishey outsed the steep dard opening these— There are you, my pain plan? He was an applied when the waters, the crafted a new of ed-"Galance as based" (Waare benegy.)

Other large events lieve pithered in other towns in the couts of the province. Mage. Portish and that in Himbana last Good Friday, 5,000 people came down from the hills, gathered at the public plans, and poured out their prioruses, our of which

In Bessled City, the biship said he reserves an average of 1,000 form laborers a week, who alt outside his convent waiting to tell him of the hunger and serecities of some free-pendble military man, in the

The previace's inequitable eveniently of land and the century-old landlard-lather relationship are critical factors in the problem. Task Pure Departments commenter Cel. Imagest de las Suntes commenter Cel.

the "discontentment in the Outstantal side in more than in the Oriental side of the inland because of the structure of land amounts."

While the discertunted new other their
chapte. "Own in." (R is
time), the leaders in the
province ithe bings. Fortich and Gov. Alfreds
Mentalibute. Jr., 1879, if
tot-pixed, for "the charing of the province resecures." They are
exhibited planters to lead
portions of their bind to
the labelton for planting
to find crops.

The greater result; proposed to the Rose from the Great laterty the appropriation of 7200 million for the appropriation of 7200 million for the appropriation of the appropriatio

Montelihane hopes the leane will be greated by May or that the laborare on use the maney to plant crops on berrowed lets. The lean will just alleviate their plight in the first three mention. But if they have used some of the THE RESERVE STATES OF THE PARTY OF THE PARTY

The previous processes that also also appropriated PS million for production hits to be said to at least 15,000 new-gar various. A P100-bit instantor and fertilion to plant seen in a Sthemannesser let.

Mentallisms is also hurrying up a 1966million rine loss which he hopes will also be granted to engan-negers who are not 300

ago, already foresaw the dislocation and the need for diversification because of a sugar crisis.

"We are trying to sell a commodity called

Bear's Conference (BBC), are now working on the funding of liveli-heed projects that will help ougar workers stave of hunger during the seven-menth off-milling season.

ment (MOLE) an "us orthodox formula" the

may be used to composite with a latest wage order

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pliance with the ne-wage order.
Governor Moutaitle ne also usged that fi peace and order to b maintained, planter

[4 May 85 pp 1, 10]

[Text]

Three years ago, when Magr. Antonio Fortich called atten-tion to the inequitable ownership of land in the province and warned that the Neg-space were sitting on a "social volcane," he was heavily criticised and even branded a subversive.

Today, this same laker remembers the sticions hurled his eriticisms hurled his way. The treable is, if you reveal these things, they will say you are trying to put down the country. I thought they would listen to us because of our mission that puts us in contact with the popula But whenever we tell them of this discontant. They always than a live we have a live we had a live when we had a live we had a liv tent, they always ensure: Bourthing is under control," Magr. Fortich said.

"Under control" is hardly what Fortick thinks the citration is He asks: Why then a Why the e councilment to Bessiell'
And why the alience
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The citanties, espestelly in the firms, is
not "under control."

Paced with very low in-censes (PSSO a month during the milling co-ses and PSSO a month during off-season, according two 1982 NBF study), hunger is no-

study), hunger is no-thing new.

In a Magallon farm, laborers said their daily meal consists of rice and sait because their P60 weekly pay'is not even enough to pay for their rice consumption of P130 a week.

In 1982, Daniel

In 1982, Daniel "Bitay" Lacson Jr. painted out that 69.4 percent of 177,273 childres weighed in the pro-vince were suffering from mainutrition. Thirty percent of this number were already third-degree mai-neurished. "They have been

starving all these years," Lasson said, referring to the figures.

But their hunger calls for a more urgent

answer today because of the province's growing insurpancy. Col. Isagani do los Santes and Col. Gilfredo Goolings, Bace-led Metrodissan chief, have placed the increase in the crime rate at 30 percent over last year.

While the city residents worry about crimes against property going up, the burrie felk worry about the nightly teach-ins conducted by armed men inside haciendes in the south and even as close to Bacoled City as Silay, Talisay, and Murcia, which is less than 15

minutes from the city proper.

Everyone seems to be aware of the nightly in-dectrination contens

tere talk about it like it was not nowe anymers.

Magr. Fortich paid people who have been present talk him the lecturers talk about the laborers' actual, real, and misoyable conditions.

tions.

Your failur was a came cutter: Se was his father: And se will your cone and grabdeous. Christianity will abt im-prove your future," they reportedly tell the

reportfelly tell the laborers.

It does not seem difficult to sell the NPAs brand of liberation to a dissentanted and newhungry people. A planter and member of the Negroe Business Forum (NBF) shid his laborer had come to him to say it is not anymore a matter of "good landlords or

nod pay." We are for a mae," the laborer mid-Lacson, the NBF under, said some peo-le think the New Peo-

Many have abandoned their farms altogether, either out of fear, haraisment, or lack of

Portick said NPA matter has now in-reased up to 7800 to 1,000 per hesters. In sandits" who collect "terms." Either way, the planters are being termed into leaving their farms.

[5 May 85 pp 1, 12]

[Text]

EDITORIAL ANSWERS ABRA GOVERNOR'S CRITICAL VIEWS

Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 4 May 85 p 6

[Editorial: "Views of a Governor"]

[Text]

IN the wake of that brief controversy generated by the pressonference of Fr. Concado Balweg, Gov. Andres B. Bernos of Ahra came out with a statement on one of the causes of insurgency.

As a conference with fieldmen of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food, Gov. Bernos said the indifference and inefficiency of government workers contributed to whatever success the insurgents had had in gaining the support of some people in the province.

He said Father Belweg would not have gone to the hills "If only we cared to listen and act on his complaints." The governor ought to know because before he joined the insurgents, the rebel priest was assigned in Luba, Abra.

We believe that in solving the insurgency problem, much weight should be placed on the opinions of provincial governors and other local officials. They are in constant touch with their constituents and they have political responsibility. More than any other group of officials, they knew the sentiments of their constituents.

Since they know what the people think and the pressures that build around them, they would know the appropriate approach to be adapted in solving the problem in their respective constituencies.

The insurgency is basically a problem of the grass roots and the appropriate approaches should be developed on that level and then supported by the national government. Determining the honest epinions of the local officials will be of infinence value to the national government.

That principle may be applied to the implementation of the civic action program. The opinions of local authorities on what projects to build should be accorded due respect. For the officials have to do the explaining on priorities to their constituents.

#### MUSLIM OFFICIAL RULES OUT QUICK NDF VICTORY

Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 5 May 85 pp 1, 14

[Text] A member of the Region XII autonomous government described yesterday as a case of "wishful thinking" the reported plan of the National Democratic Front (NDF) to take over the government in two to three years' time.

In a speech before the United Nations Walkers Club at the Manila Hilton Hotel, Jamil P. Lucman said many individuals and groups in Mindanao have realized that their desire for change has been exploited by the professional revolutionaries.

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#### ILIGAN MAYOR PLEDGES ON STRIKERS' DEMANDS

Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 5 May 85 p 8

[Text] Iligan City--Mayor Pacificador A. Lluch has acknowledged and promised to carry to President Marcos or to the First Lady, Mrs. Imelda R. Marcos, the political and economic demands of about 13,000 participants in the "Welgang Bayan" here.

The demands include the arrest and punishment of the killers of Zamboanga City Mayor Cesar Climaco, journalists Jacobo Amatong, Alex Orcullo, and Charlie Aberilla; lawyers Zorro Aguilar and Romraflo Taojo; Renato Bucag, and Fr. Tulio Favali who were killed in Mindanao.

The demands were submitted to Lluch in a dialogue last Thursday at the city hall by a negotiating panel led by lawyer Bonifacio Legaspi, Angel Mencias, Paz Vicada, and Dr. Acmad Jun Alonto.

The other political demands of the rallyists are demilitarization of Mindanao, repeal of Amendment No. 6 and other allegedly repressive decrees, abolition of the "fake autonomous regional government units" in Mindanao, and the dismantling of American military bases and other installations.

The rallyists also raised the following economic demands: implement 25 percent increase in the minimum wage; roll back prices of petroleum, fertilizers, pesticides, feedgrains, and other commodities, and electricity rates; and stop all new and high taxation, anti-people urban development schemes, incursion of multinational corporations, and foreign encroachment of Philippine fishing grounds.

The "Welgang Bayan" reportedly aims to show the people's opposition to government through concerted protest actions.

The activity was led by the Bagong Alyansang Makabayan-Mindanao; Nationalist Alliance for Justice, Freedom, and Democracy, Coalition of Organizations for the Realization of Democracy; and Muslim-Christian Movement for Peace, Justice, and Democracy.

#### ARTICLE REPORTS MILITARY, NPA ABUSES IN PAMPANGA

Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 30 Apr 85 p 6

[Article by Elmer G. Cato in the "Notes From Pampanga" column: "No Crackdown Poised on Pampanga Media?"

[Text] Brig. Gen Jose Magno, Jr., third Regional Unified Command (RUC) head, in his dialogue with local news circles last week gave assurances that no crackdown has been poised on critical members of the media.

This development was believed triggered by the worries of local newspapermen following the near murder and arbitrary arrest of Pampanga publisher-editor Abner San Pedro in Angeles City early this month by a combined team of intelligence operatives and the Constabulary Highway Patrol Group.

The troopers, allegedly armed with a shoot-to-kill order, acted on a supposed tip from a civilian informer that San Pedro's car was being used by subversive elements.

An extensive probe has been ordered by no less than acting Armed Forces chief of staff Lt. Gen. Fidel Ramos while the various press clubs in the province were one in calling for the immediate relief of those who figured in the incident.

With this shoot-now-and-ask-later idiosyncracy, not even reassurances by toplevel military officials nor the thorough investigation on the murderous stupidity of those involved, could allay the fears of outspoken media practitioners who have been daunted by the tragic fate that befell Orcullo and Amatong, among others.

The San Pedro incident only goes to show the potential hazards hounding the journalistic trade.

Some 8,000 people from five Central Luzon provinces trooped last April 8 to the Regional Unified Command headquarters at Camp Olivas in San Fernando, the nerve center of the military's counterinsurgency drive in the region.

Led by the Pinag-isang Gitnang Luzon sa Adhikain ng Sambayanan (PIGLAS) and its various support groups, the mass action aimed to bring to the attention

of military authorities the growing outcry against mounting abuses and human rights violations in 7 Central Luzon provinces.

PIGLAS chairman, lawyer Jose Suarez, called for an end "to this progressive insanity" as he presented to RUC 3 officials cases of military abuses as documented by local human rights groups.

Task Force Detainees-Central Luzon (TFD-CL) reported 22 persons summarily executed; 11 killed in two massacre incidents; at least 42 arbitrarily arrested and tortured; hundreds evacuated from at least three barrios; one bombing incident; a case of hamletting; and other atrocities committed in the wake of an intensified anti-dissident campaign in the region last year.

If at all the confrontation achieved something worth noting, it would be the soft-sell tactics employed by the military in settling its "obligations."

Military authorities were quick to call for the formation of a special actions committee that would look solely to the complaints of alleged human rights violations victims. They also vowed to monitor the activities of abusive paramilitary elements and to conduct retraining seminars among erring soldiers in the different provincial commands.

Unless what some members of human rights groups here call "the atmosphere of fear" is removed, the real problem remains. Which brings to mind what a Bataan priest told military officials, "there can be no solutions as long as the people are afraid of you."

They did it again.

Communist-led New People's Army rebels here are believed to have "instigated" the April 8 killing of a rebel-surrenderee in downtown Angeles City and the dawn raid on a paramilitary outpost in Porac town Maundy Thursday.

Gil "Boogie" Velasquez, whose surrender at the expense of four of his comrades during an encounter with government troopers in Porac town several years back reportedly earned him a slot in the Sparrow hit list, was shot twice in the head as he was about to drive away from the New Life Hardware along Rizal St. at 2 p.m. The shorts-clad gunman casually walked away from the scene after the incident.

The incident happened barely an hour before the military was to bare documented reports of alleged NPA atrocities, including a detailed list of unsolved killings, in the region. Of 93 known murders in 1984, military authorities here attribute 90 percent to NPA liquidation operations.

A week earlier, rebels reportedly took several firearms from a Civilian Home Defense Force (CHDF) detachment in Porac town. Sketchy reports reaching MALAYA show that 7 dissidents took at gunpoint the Palat barrio captain and two unarmed militiamen whom they chanced upon at dawn April 5.

The rebels reportedly asked to be taken to the outpost, which was then manned by only one sentry, where the militiamen surrendered their firearms, including two carbines, one Garand rifle and several rounds of ammunition, without any resistance.

The NPAs even gave a lecture to the CHDFs for 20 minutes depite a red alert order on all military units in the province.

#### MILITARY URGES RURAL CITIZENS TO REPORT ON MPA

Davao City PEOPLE'S DAILY FORUM in English 17 May 85 p 3

[Text] (PNA)—The people in South Cotabato are now providing the military in the area with information on the activities of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and its military arm, the New People's Army (NPA), according to Col Orlando Soriano, commander of the Southwestern Force.

Soriano, who briefed acting armed forces chief of staff Lt. Gen Fidel V. Ramos on the anti-insurgency drive in the province Tuesday, said this cooperation from the people would help the government's campaign against insurgents.

South Cotabato governor Sergio Morales and Mayor Antonio Acharon of this city also met with Ramos and pledged to support in the anti-insurgency campaign.

During their discussion, they proposed the establishment of an integrated security plan for this city and every town of South Cotabato.

Ramos, on the other hand, stressed the need for an effective information network under such scrutiny plan to make the people aware of the godless ideology of the communists.

Ramos also urged the [words indistinct] of cooperating with each other in a vigorous campaign against the CPP-NPA.

The acting chief of staff also pointed out that while the ruling Kilusang Bagong Lipunan (KBL) and the legitimate opposition groups are only allowed to campaign for 45 days prior to an election, the NPA has been vigorously campaigning every day.

Ramos also urged the people of South Corabato to form an intelligence network to campaign against any CPP-NPA infiltration.

He assured them that while civic action projects of the government will be intensified all over the country, the armed forces will improve its fighting capability.

Ramos said there is a need to enhance the policy of attraction of NPA rebels to win them back to the folds of the law.

He told military commanders and their men to improve the human rights record of the armed forces. He asked them to refrain from committing abuses against civilians.

Ramos said that it is not enough that after setting up the integrated security plan for each town or city, officials should lead in the rehearsal of their contingency plan so that the people will know what to do during an NPA attack.

Ramos expressed confidence that in a total and orchestrated effort the people can shield their areas from terrorists attacks.

During his visit to the cities of Cagayan de Oro, Pagadian and General Santos during the past two days, Ramos conferred with top military officials of Mindanao.

Among them were Maj. Gen. Delfin Castro, Southcom chief-Brig. Gen. Jaime Echeverria, RUC XI Commander; Brig. Gen. Dionisio Tan-gatue, PC Recom XI commander; Brig. Gen. Cesar Tapi, Ruc XII commander; Brig. Gen. Madrino Munoz, RUC X commander; Col. Andres Superable. South Cotabato Provincial commander: Col Rodolfo Biazon, 3d marine brigade commander, and Lt. Col Jesus Guerzon, provincial commander of Zamboanga del Sur. (PNA)

EDITORIAL SEES CEBU NEXT NPA TARGET

Cebu City VISAYAN HERALD in English 5 May 85 p 3

[Editorial: "What's the Answer to Insurgency?"]

[Text] Now the President of the Philippines has admitted and confirmed that insurgency is the country's No. 1 problem. City Mayor Ramon Bagatsing of Manila has reacted by mobilizing the barangay units in the anti-insurgency campaign. Terrorists, he said, have already infiltrated the urban areas, and he admitted the rebels have already gone deeper inside Manila of which he is mayor.

In Cebu, it has been already confirmed by the intelligence community that strangers who could be rebels and insurgents have already been present in the interior areas of Guadalupe and Basak, right in Cebu City. In a recent talk with Monica Feria, one-time Agence France Presse correspondent and now correspondent for South Magazine, she told VISAYAN HERALD that Cebu is the next target in urban terrorism by the NPAs she has talked to. And this information seems to indicate that it is coming to be a reality.

We remember the recent killings in Cebu City where the victims were all shot in the head, the Sparrow Unit hitmen's target. And the military authorities in Cebu confirmed that in the case of radioman Viljordon's murder (he was shot in the head), the NPAs were responsible. And they are confirmed to be in the mountains of Tuburan, Asturias and Balamban.

The development of rebel infestation does not auger well for what is to come. This worries and saddens peace-loving citizens. Killing the rebels has not solved the insurgency problem. It can not. The regime has been killing rebels for 20 years and they have multiplied. Is barangay mobilization the answer, as Mayor Bagatsing will do for Manila? Will the urban centers not be turned into a bloody warfare of armed groups of Filipinos versus rebel Filipinos? What is the answer? What is the solution?

PAPER ON 'CAUCASIAN' ARMY 'ADVISERS,' SAMAR ARMY MASSACRE

HK140347 Quezon City VERITAS in English 9 Jun 85 p 14

[By Patricia L. Adversario]

[Text] News of massacres and killings have become daily fare in the island of Samar, and people have gotten used to walking around in groups and locking up their houses by seven in the evening. In the past, the island was known, rather disparagingly, for harboring wanted criminals who found the still largely undeveloped terrain to their advantage.

For perhaps this same reason, Samar has, in more recent times, become a stronghold for the New People's Army (NPA). Thus, it is no surprise that Samar has won the dubious distinction of being one of the most highly militarized areas in the country today.

Just recently, a knowledgable source and long-time resident of the area, told VERITAS that as he passed a military camp in a small town at the edge of Catarman, Northern Samar, he saw more than just Filipino soldiers training for battle. This time, there were Caucasian "advisers" in fatigue uniform and sunglasses mixing with the soldiers—a piece of news that has caused more alarm for an already scared and weary island.

Children, the old, and the inform are not spared from the terror and violence in the province. Just like what the frequent typhoons which batter the island inevitably do, the defenseless and the weak are the first to be levelled down.

Barangay Canyupay, scene of the latest reported massacre, is one of the remote barrios in the mountains of Eastern Samar. Some 50 families earn their living by sawing hardwood, locally called "gisok," which they then sell in Borongan, the capital city. The people plant their own food which consists of root crops, bananas and coconuts.

One family which has been bounded by uniformed armed men because of their indiscriminate hospitality is the Odang household headed by 62-year-old Macario. In 1981, a shell from a grenade launcher killed Macario's son-in-law and four nephews. Four years later on 21 February, 1985, the remaining Odangs were massacred. As Macario who was then lying down, tried to rise after the first volley of shots, he found his launch had been gruesomely splattered with the blood of his eldest son, his eight-months-pregnant daughter-in-law and seven-year-old favorite grandchild. Macario said a vindictive enemy of Arnelia, his daughter-in-law, had tipped the military that the Odangs have been giving food and lodging to NPA men.

According to a fact finding mission report released 23 May by the Task Force Detainees of the Philippines, it was noon of 21 February when the soldiers came. The whole family was eating their lunch of boiled camote. They had spent the whole morning working in the fields and were due to return there after lunch. At 12:15, shots rang out in the village. It was like what happened the day before when 11 uniformed men riddled the village with bullets for 30 minutes and then burned down a house. This time, some 30 soldiers came back.

Two soldiers entered the Odang house and saw the family lying spreadeagler on the floor. The soldiers fired three shots which instantly killed Simplicio, Armela, Arnelia and her unborn baby. Armela, the grandchild, who was then embracing her grandfather Macario, covered his back with her left leg. The moment the bullet hit her leg, she shouted, "Itang, hibang ako, mapatay ako," ("Grandfather, they wounded me. I'm going to die.")

Macario, who was then sick with malaria, was lying face down, too weak and shaken with terror to do anything. The other children, Gina Lyn, aged two and Joel, aged one, were too young to know what was happening and continued crawling on the floor near their mother. Arnelia was already dead, but her bloated stomach was still pulsing widly with grotesque convulsions. Minutes later, her unborn baby died. Juana, Macario's wife, lay face down while she tearfully covered another grandchild, Flory, aged five with her body.

Across the Odang house, 85-year-old Victor Quirante who was sick with rheumatism and couldn't run for cover remained immobile on the floor of his house. A soldier, sitting on a grassy rise beside the house, spotted Qirante through a window. Witnesses said the soldier aimed and fixed, killing Quirante instantly.

Meanwhile, the other villagers had scampered to the forest for safety. One of them was Rogelio Opanda, a 23-year-old farmer, and his family. He had just arrived from the fields to gather gabi [yams] for his family's lunch. The moment he heard the shots, he carried his two sons, one of them four-years-old Rolando. His wife followed them with another son in her arms. While Rogelio was running, a stray bullet grazed Rolando's left thigh.

Today, Rogelio's eldest son uses his right leg more than his left. Try patting Rolando's left thigh and he'll limp away and cry. Under the left leg of his loose white shorts is a 3-1/4 inch long infected wound from the M-16 bullet which grazed him three months ago. The wound has become a mass of angry red welts in spite of Rolando's week-long stay at the Borongan Provincial Hospital. Regelio said Rolando has not received any medicine for the

wound in Samar except for a folk remedy of boiled "pirupot" [native tree] bark.

Rogelio and his family have moved to a nearby Sitio [Barrio]. Both men still speak longingly of their fields and their homes. Only hunger could overcome their fear and make them come back to their fields again to gather food for their families but there is not enough time to plant anymore. At any time soldiers might come and shoot them. Before, their families could eat three times a day, they now eat only once a day.

Some government men took Arnelia and Armela's bodies for autopsy but up to now, no autopsy report has been released. The Odang family tried approaching the Borngan mayor for help and protection since Arnelia was the barangay captain of Canyupay but Macario said the mayor just gave them a curious look and walked away without saying anything.

# ACTING POREIGN MINISTER ON RELATIONS WITH AUSTRALIA

HK101517 Manila BULLETIM TODAY in English 10 Jun 85 p 13

[By Olaf S. Giron]

[Text] Acting Foreign Affairs Minister Pacifico A. Castro has called for an end to the donor-dependent relationship between Australia and the Philippines.

This was one of the significant points raised in an interview of Castro by Michael Byrnes of the Australian Financial Review published in Camberra recently.

Castro said expansion of Australian imports from the Philippines to eradicate the \$100 million yearly trade deficit with Australia would help eliminate Australian aid to this country.

This would strengthen the relationship between the two countries by removing the present "rather uncomfortable feeling of dependence," he said.

Then Australian religious missionaries would be writing to their MP's (Members of Parliament) calling for a termination of Australian aid to the Philippines.

Asked whether the Philippine Government might directly expel Australian missionaries from the country, Castro said, "This was a democratic country reluctant to take such steps."

Reacting to criticism that roads being built under the Australian Aid Project in North Samar might be used for military purposes by either the government or the New People's Army (NPA), Castro said that "if there was equity in trade between Australia and the Philippines, there would be no need for aid, and, therefore, no need for criticism by Australia."

However, when asked directly whether this meant that Castro wanted Australia out of the Samar project, he replied that he was simply speaking about trade. The Philippines wants dignity and responsibility and does not want to be dependent, he said.

Castro brushed aside the recent statement of Australian Foreign Minister Bill Hayden that Australian troops could possibly be sent to the Philippines under the treaty provisions of the military alliance of ANZUS (Australia, New Zealand and United States).

Castro pointed to statements of President Marcos that so long as he is president he will not allow foreign troops to fight insurgents in the Philippines.

He pointed out, however, that Australian and New Zealand Air Force personnel hold annual training sessions at Clark Air Base.

In the interview, Castro said only three Southeast Asian countries have had stable leadership for the past 20 years: Indonesia, Singapore and the Philippines.

He dismissed fears that political instability in the Philippines might open the way for entry by the Soviet Union, saying the country's defense treaty with the U.S. precluded Manila from concluding military arrangements with any other nation.

"The regional power balance had been altered by the Soviet entry into Cam Ranh Bay and Da Nang in Vietnam because the U.S. had built 'fantastic' facilities here, and then left them idle," he said.

# PAPER ASSESSES INDE MARCOS AS MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT

HK130914 Quezon City VERITAS in English 2 Jun 85 p 6

[Text] Of the array of glittering personalities vying for the limelight at the Batasang Pambansa, Imee Marcos-Monotoc stands out in her celebrated status as the eldest child of the first couple of the land, and for her equallycelebrated romance with national sports figure Towny Monotoc. This, despite her attempts at maintaining a low profile.

Once budded the "reluctant candidate," she told a reporter at the beginning of her term: "I intend to be very quiet," adding that she was still feeling her way around and was, at the moment, content to sit back, watch and admire the old hands go about their business.

At a meeting with reporters, she reportedly said she sees herself as a "conduit" between her father and the members of the Batasan, both KBL [Kilusang Bagong Lipunan] and opposition.

Her previous work experience includes being national chairman of the Kabataang Barangay, chairperson of the project advisory committee of the National Youth and Manpower Council's World Bank vocational projects, chairperson of the Metro Manila Popular Music Foundation, chairperson of the Cecil Awards Foundation, and director-general of the Experimental Cinema of the Philippines.

Despite those lofty positions and appointments, she is said to be much more interested in starting a family and running a business devoted to Philippine handicrafts.

Though she claims to have filed several bills of local application, after thumbing through the daily journals, none could be immediately found. Still, unlike many of her colleagues, she never spends her time promenading around the session hall. "She'd really listen at her desk and do her work," according to reporter Margie Logarta. "She never stood up and talked to people. People would go to her."

From most accounts, the assemblywoman from Ilocos Norte, despite whatever exalted position she is presumed to hold, never called any undue attention to herself, never abused her position, and was indeed "very approachable, warm, and amusing once her guard was down."

She maintained an office at the Batasan, the same quarters her mother once occupied, where she would while away her time before sessions began. Sometimes her son, Borgy, would come by for a visit.

At the start of 1985, she suddenly disappeared from view, for the record, she had apparently notified the Batasan secretariat of her prolonged absence. The Batasan grapevine has it that she's pregnant and, having suffered from a previous miscarraige, she is intent on taking extra precautions this time.

Indeed many things are not known about the First Daughter. Nagging questions remain like why she decided to Oun for public office despite her well-known averagin for politics. And now that she is in politics, just how much time she spends with her constituents is also not known.

# PRIEST SAYS LIBERATION THEOLOGY NOT APPLICABLE

Davao City PEOPLE'S DAILY FORUM in English 19 May 85 pp 1, 7

[Article by Ed Fernandez]

[Text] Fr. Reuben Birondo, Director of Christian Formation, of the Diocese of Tagum told the PEOPLE'S DAILY FORUM in an interview that Theology of Liberation does not apply to the Philippines because it is basically a Latin American theology.

Fr. Birondo's comment came at a time when practically all sectors talk about Theology of Liberation being used by the Philippine Church in implementing reforms in the society and the Church affairs.

He said that maybe some priests are using Theology of Liberation to implement reforms in the government. "But Theology of Liberation is basically Latin American, not the Philippines," Fr. Birondo quipped.

Fr. Birondo added that before somebody talks about Theology of Liberation they should understand the term fully so as not to mislead the people. "Theology of Liberation is not arm struggle," he stressed.

We asked to comment on the Basic Christian Communities (BCC) as being infiltrated by the communist, Fr. Birondo said that all ranks are infiltrated, even the military is infiltrated. The BCC is a community of believers and worshippers, he said. He added that the BCC members are trained to make decisions of themselves, to be independent and that they should be taught not to depend to the priest always. "But they are not communists," he emphasized.

"When priests and nuns join the parliament of the street that is according to their judgment as long as they will not forget their pastoral ministry," Fr. Birondo emphasized.

Fr. Birondo is one of those who conceived the idea of having a BBC so that the people will be more independent in their judgment and that their policies of their chapels will be formulated by them.

CARDINAL SIN ON PROS, CONS OF LIBERATION THEOLOGY

Quezon City THE DILIMAN REVIEW in English Vol 33 No 2, Mar-Apr 85 pp 25-29

[Interview with Cardinal Sin by H. S. Beltran and Stella Marie Tirol]

[Text]

e is addressed as Your Eminence, signifying his stature as a Prince of the Church. But these days Jaime Cardinal Sin is more humble servant than Prince, servant of God and servant of his people.

The tasks and duties he is called to runs the gamut of human activities—from solemnizing a wedding to talking about the controversial field of politics.

On the day we interviewed His Eminence, he looked older and wearier than we expected, brought about no doubt by the cares of his office.

His office has continually been at the center of crossfire. The young priests love him for the vigor with which "he defends the rights of his people." In a unprecedented move some months back, he also called on the businessmen, the professionals and other members of the middle class to support the parliament of the streets.

For these and other moves, however, Cardinal Sin has

earned the ire of government. President Marcos has accused him of inciting people to rebellion and his KBL lackeys have filed an onerous bill in the Batasan on Church-State separation, a move interpreted by many to stifle criticism from the Church.

In reply, Cardinal Sin is said to have retorted, "If I care for my people and they need my help, is that politics?"

But politics, indeed, seems to be the inevitable setting for the ministry of this man of peace. And his, it seems, is the difficult task to denounce and reconcile. "A priest," he aptly said, "must be a prophet of denunciation before he can be a minister of reconciliation. If in the process he is crucified, so be-it."

In this interview with the prelate, Dillman Review questioned him on a wide range of issues. He is obviously well-informed and talks easily about history, education, economics and even bits of philosophy. He

can quote off-hand dearly remembered lines of historian Horacio de la Costa and criticisms of Nietzsche. Readings on current affairs are valued and, in fact, are recommended for his bishops and monsignors who regularly receive issues of Time from him. But on any topic, Cardinal Sin always approaches the discussion with deeply-held convictions and a theological point of view. And of course, his humor is ever-present to drive his point home.

Against the backdrop of workmen hammering away, abovehis office in Villa San Miguel, we discussed the theology of liberation, socially-committed priests and nuns, the capitalist economic system, elections and the possibility of social upheaval.

The theology of liberation which became controversial once more after the publication by the Church of Certain Aspects of the Theologies of Liberation was interpreted by Cardinal Sin for us. He stressed the personal level of liberationthe need to liberate man from sin in order to undertake larger social changes. The need for moral transformation, as appropriately taught by the prelate in the light of his role, is also a necessary though often forgotten component for change.

His ideas are very Catholic and his decisions are discerned in the light of his Faith. It would be a mistake, therefore, to classify him as a moderate, conservative or what not. "Christianity," he said in a previous interview, "is a life, not an ideology. Therefore, prayer life is important because it is the basis of Christian activity. Now prayer life alone without social work, or without coordi-

nating with the people is the opium of the people—so the communists would have something to say about that. If you are already engaged in social work without prayer life, I could say that is also communism. So there should be a blending. The basis of a Christian life is Christianity in repose and the overflow of that, the result, the effect is social work."

It is with quiet disagreement that he looks at Fr. Balweg's option. But perhaps a closer look at the conditions, traditions, history and culture of resistance of the tribal minorities will help His Eminence understand the payche of former priest and Tingguian, Fr. Balweg, who chose to take the road less travelled by to be with his own people in their struggle for freedom and lasting peace.

Cardinal Sin also discusses capitalism and emphasizes the role and responsibility of businessmen. His ease in under-

standing them and gaining their support can perhaps be traced to the earlier years of his life. His father was a penniless immigrant from Amoy, China who later became a rich merchant. Cardinal Sin at one point thought of being a businessman or journalist. After the war, however, the family lost almost all its properties and Cardinal Sin experienced poverty and hardships. The Cardinal has known both sides of the coin and this perhaps has formed his perception of how things must be.

There are other things Cardinal Sin spoke of and other things we would have wanted to learn but the prelate was soon called away to officiate a wedding. The tireless caretaker of souls, the gentle voice of the Church in the Philippines however left much of his views for many to think about, and perhaps also to act upon.

(Stella Marie Tirol)

The Diliman Review (DR): How do you regard Catholic priests and nuns getting actively involved in political movements for human rights?

Jalme Cardinal Sin (JCS): The priests and the sisters are supposed to exercise primarily their functions as evangelizers, and when I say evangelizers, I mean those exercising the function of promoting total human development: that function is evangelization. We do not only focus our attention on spiritual things. But we are also happy to see to it that man as man is totally guided, totally helped. And so our duty is also physical, not only spiritual. We do not only attend to the spiritual aspect but also to the material aspect. And therefore that is the duty of the sisters and the priests.

Of course, our primordial duty is the preaching of the gospel of love. But right now in this country, our laymen who are fully Christians and are supposed to take charge of this function of promoting the interest and the welfare of our people especially on the physical and material aspect, have forgotten all these because they are so busy about politics and self-aggrandizement. The priests and the nuns are already more or less inclined to do everything they can to help the people. And that is why they have exercised the leadership especially in the rural areas where the politicians are afraid to stay and they are here in the city.

I would say, many times, they (priests and sisters) commit a mistake because that is not their expertise. And they fall into another error which I may call neo-clericalism or neo-sacerdotalism. And there is a twist of responsibility. It is the primordial duty and responsibility of the laymen and the laywomen to restore the temporal order. But since they are not doing their duty, the priests and the sisters take over

Look, here in Manila and in different parts of our country, the laymen and the laywornen are the ones distributing communion and preaching the gospel, and the priests and the sisters are engaged in social work. So there is a twist of responsibility.

We would like therefore to restore the function and the

mission of the laymen. That is why we will have a big meeting next year and the theme is "the mission and the vocation of the laymen and the laywomen in the world today." Is that clear? Very clear.

DR: What do you think about Catholic priests who support the military in its counter-insurgency campaigns?

JCS: Supporting this military dispensation? Well, you see, they are men who are also supposed to protect our Constitution. They're human beings and priests should support them, too. That's why we have chaplains in the army—not to support them but to guide them so that they would attain their eternal salvation. That is their duty.

In the rural areas, there are priests assigned there, and many times there are people who come to them asking for help. We may say, (they are) the NPA (New People's Army), but then the priests help, closing their eyes to those who are approaching them, irrespective of party affiliation. They are just functioning like the Red Cross agents helping people and then they are branded as subversives when in fact they are not. Because the motivation behind is that you are a human being and a human being, you are a child of God, and as a child of God, you are entitled to my help because we are brothers and sisters under the fatherhood of God. Is that not beautiful?

DR: In principle or policy, does the Vaticen (and the Catholic church hierarchy in the Philippines) allow such political involvement?

JCS: Politics is a human activity. And as a human activity, It has its morality. So the Church allows this because it is a moral activity. Example, during elections, I would tell the people to be honest, clean and fair in the elections. That is morality. But I would not tell them, as a priest, that you should vote for this (or that) person. Because as a priest, I should be a pontifex. Pontemface means a bridge and (to serves as) a bridge means that you should try to destroy the walls of division and you should try to pontificate meaning to put up a bridge so that the people will become loving, caring and undefstanding. Now, politics, when it comes to election and the selecting of people who should be in power, is divisive. But as a person I want to hear to correct my own opinion. But I should not use my public position in order to tall the people from the pulpit, "you vote for Mr. Marcos or you vote for Mr. Laurel" because this is now already divisive. But I can tell them from the pulpit, "Dear people of God, this is election time, you should try to exert effort to vote but we would like to tell you that elections should be fair, honest and clean." That is my hope and it is a duty to say that. Vatican is trying to tell us to behave as priests telling the people to become worthy citizens by participating actively in this election, encouraging honesty and fairness in the election.

DR: Fr. Conrado Batweg and the late Fr. Zecaries Agatep have become legendary heroes in the revolutionary movement. What do you think about them?

JCS: Well, you see, these are examples of some priests who have been renegades in their ideas. Renegades in assess that they did not follow the principles of our theo. They went to the mountains and they believe in violence with in fact Christianity is meekness, it is not violence. Because Christianity is meant to say that justice without mercy is tyranny, mercy without justice is weakness, justice without love is socialism, and love without justice is baloney. So Fr. Balweg is there, he does not follow the tenets of our theology, so what can we do? Because God cannot force you to go to heaven if you like to go to hell. That is his own lookout. He was a priest, he was a good priest when he was ordained, but now he has his own idea. What can you do?

DR: In an interview with Fr. Balweg published in Veritas (April 29-May 5, 1984), he said: "Where there is exploitation, there is violence... So it is a matter of which violence you practice, the unjust violence of the ruling classes or the just violence of the revolution." In another interview published in Business Day (May 8, 1984), Fr. Balweg said: "Our revolution is a just war because at stake are our democratic rights: "What do you think about these statements?

JCS: A Christian has to follow what Christ said: Pray for them who hate you and love them who persecute you; when you are offering your gift to all in the altar of God and then you remember that there is somebody in your heart who has something against somebody in your heart, abandon your gift, search for that man, and be reconciled with this man, and come back to pray. So Christianity is really something very hard to accomplish. It is loving those who do not love you. Now here is a counter-proposal that you have to kill because he is killing you. I think, that is not Christian. And if we do that then there will be no peace in the world. Violence will continue because this is vindictiveness. That's why a revolution could not solve the problem because then you don't know when it will stop. Because If you allow vindictiveness you'll always be lost. And you're angry, and if you don't put a stop to your anger, it will flourish. So you'll be killing and killing and you don't know when it will stop.

DR: in a recent pastoral letter issued by the American bishops entitled "Examining Capitalism," they raised fundamental questions about the economic system, specifically, capitalism. Considering the economic crisis we are in and the enduring inequitable distribution of wealth, do you think there is a need to issue such a statement specifically on issues on our current economic system?

JCS: There are really some rich people who are thinking only of themselves. Irresponsible capitalism is as dangerous as atheistic communism. When it (capitalism) is irresponsible, you make use of other people so that you will become richer and richer and you would not share what you have with other people, and that is something violent. Now, suppose you are a very Intelligent man, and you are industrious, by normal procedure, you will become rich. But the moment you become rich, Christianity tells you: share what you have with others. Then I would say capitalism is beautiful because it is responsible. Isn't it? And that is what is happening. If the Christians are just following the teachings of Christ, that will be the answer to our problem. But Nietzsche said; and I quote: How can I follow your religion when you yourself are not living the life of your founder? So you can see that the only answer to this (problem) is Christianity, a responsible witnessing of our Christian life which is in that beautiful statement of Christ, "you cannot be my disciple unless you deny yourself, take up your cross and follow me."

DR: One way by which social and political changes can be achieved peacefully is through honest and clean elections. Contry we have heard of an upsurge of killings related to litica, perhaps to the election in 1986 and 1987. Such clidents are perceived by many as indications of bloody elections in the future such that the people may lose their trust in the free exercise of suffrage. As a religious leader in a predominantly Catholic country, you have encouraged the people to participate in elections. What should be done to avert the lose of the people's faith in electoral exercises?

JCS: Education. We should be educated in the process of democracy. This process is gradual and slow. But this should be brought up in our schools. The problem with us is that we select so many ignorant people even if they know how to read and write. And many of them (voters) are influenced by money. So the politicians go to the barrios and distribute the money. They (the people) do not even care to think for whom they are going to vote. The one who gives them money they will follow. But now, that has changed. In the elections in May last year, if you give them money, they will receive your money but the vote will go to the one they like to vote. And this is a sort of improvement, a development on our system. But the most important and essential, I think, is the education of our people.

When a man is educated, nothing can influence him except his own knowledge and he will do what he likes. Isn't that beautiful? But it will take time. To educate a man, it will take 20 years. Six years of elementary, four years of high school, but still you don't know how to think. Thinking comes after liberal arts. But in most cases in our schools, we are teaching people the value of money. So we study in order to earn more money, and no values are inculcated. Now our values are always materialistic, that is what is happening. I would say, you may possess money but do not allow money to possess you. Money is a necessary evil. And even though it is the excrement of the devil, it is a good fertilizer. (Laughter) What do you say about that?

DR: It has been said that the country is sitting on a social voiceno that may erupt anytime. . .

JCS: It is Marcos who say that . . .

DR: Considering the increasing strength of the Communist Party of the Philippines and its New People's Army, as has been noted in the newspapers, do you foresse any social upheavel in the near future?

JCS: Well, there is the fear that because of the presence of Russia, they might control our people. But I think, God will not allow that, I can still remember what Fr. Horacio de la Costa, that great Jesuit Filipino historian who died four years ago, said in, I think, 1938; and I quote: The Philippines is a poor country. It does not even have a language with which to coin her expression. But in spite of her poverty, she has two jewels in the rock, one is her faith and second is her music, and meanwhile there is a priest that offers love to God and the family prays together, and meanwhile there is a mother that croons the fullaby to bring the baby to sleep, this country may be trampled upon, but it will rise again. Unquote. This is seen in the beautiful Spanish hymn that runs like this: El pueblo amante de Maria / Antes que sus montes mejor / Forman su rico de soro / Los que soros de Dios. This country will survive. There is a fear, fear is always there. But it (the nation) will survive because the people are good. It's the politicians who are the ones abusing. It's sad to say but it is the truth, you see.

DR: In case of an upheaval or in case the Marcos government were overthrown, what should be the role of the Church?

JCS: The Church will play the role of a mother to avoid violence. It is the Church who is not a political agency and it will be able to help in the restoration of democracy. We have not thought of that but we are thinking already on the process of how we can maintain peace and order in our country. And the youth will be a very important factor for this.

DR: Social and political scientistis have projected direct foreign, particularly American, intervention in case of a general strike or nationwide uprising. This is due to its...

JCS: Interests ...

DR: ...military and trade interests in the country. Recent news report about pronouncements of the American government assuring the Marcos government of assistance in counter-insurgency campaigns to preserve the status quo, seem to confirm this theory. What would be the actuation of the Church in case foreign intervention as what happened in Vietnam takes place in the Philippines?

JCS: The Church will see to it that our culture is preserved and human rights are not violated. Because as a country we could not stand on our own. If the Americans are coming to help us, like trying to increase the rentals of our bases. I think we should not stop it. That is good. But if the Americans are coming here to destroy our culture, I think we should do something. That we have to watch (out on). Because this is normal to all countries: we open our doors to all influences, as China now has opened its doors to economic prosperity. " s is how it should be. We cannot just say "no, you're Amuricans, don't come in." If they are businessmen who would like to trade with us, why not? We should expect to earn something out of this relationship. So it will be on a day-to-day and on a case-to-case basis. It should be studied and there should be a committee to study all these foreign relations on trade. We can't say, "don't come." Because trade is like that. And one can survive only by means of trade.

DR: The theology of liberation which grew roots in Latin America is currently gaining ground among religious leaders and laymen in the Philippines. Do you see this as a positive development?

JCS: The theology of liberation is good per se. You know why? Let us go back to the history of the theology of liberation. In the year '63, the theology of liberation started in Medelline, Colombia when the Bishops College of America came together to be able to solve the problem of poverty. But they were so in a hurry as to the result and the solution that they used structural analysis which is Marxism. And it boiled down to violence and bloodshed. And therefore it cannot be Christian because killing one another, killing the rich cannot be the solution. And so class struggle started to mount up. And they came to discuss about this. And in the year '79, they came to have another convention in Puebla, Mexico to talk about the theology of liberation. And they pointed out that the theology of liberation is per se very good because it goes to the roots of the problem which are selfishness, egoism, pride and ambition. Those are the root causes of poverty. Because of this, the theology of liberation wants to study the liberation of man, that is, from selfishness, ambition, pride and egoism. And therefore, thinking of what Christ said, "you cannot be my disciple unless you deny yourself, take up your cross and follow me." That is the theology of liberation.

By destroying one's ego and not putting a spirit of selfishness, you become selfless and the moment the spirit of selflessness is strong in you, you will be like a bird jumping from one branch to another singling le historie de un emor. And therefore the theology of liberation is beautiful. That is the concept. Now there are so many explanation already of different ideologies. But this is the real truth: Jesus said, "I come to the world to bring the sword." But those who are not properly instructed would say, this sword should be used to destroy those who would like to destroy me. Well, that is self-defense. But this sword is brought by Jesus to destroy your pride, it should be used against yourself because man by himself has

an inclination to pride. We have to destroy that day by day. That is called "dominant passion." So you go now to the mystical and ascetical theology when you talk about the theology of liberation. Oh, this is a long process.

DR: Your view of the theology of liberation is addressed to those in power, to those who would have to give up what they have. There has been a constant exhortation of the Church to these people. But what if there is no response at all?

JCS: There is, right now. For example, the businessmen of the Philippines are number one in trying to comply with this instruction of Christ. The businessmen now are different from the businessmen of ten years ago. They have put up housing projects, they share their earnings with the poor. It is a different situation now. Because they are businessmen, they have the intelligence, they have the money, they are industrious, so naturally they become rich. But if you do not share your riches with others, you become miserable as what some materialists in capitalist...in the United States become... But if you share what you have, I think that is good, and that is what some Filipino businessmen are doing. We have now this Bishops' Businessmen's Conference, and it is going abroad, influencing other businessmen. And if all businessmen are like that, my goodness, the world will be a happy place to live in. We even have scholarships for the poor. Beautiful! You see now how the world develops?

DR: In the Business Day Interview I mentioned, Fr. Batweg, answering a question on whether he was still saying the Holy Mass, said: "I mass with the masses. I commune with the community. In that way, my view of faith is revolutionary. Even for Jesus Christ, mass for him meent a total offering of himself to the people he was serving. The mass is not a symbol, a decoration. It is the concrete offering to the point of death..." In a subsequent question on whether the Church is responding properly to the changes in the political situation, Fr. Balweg said: "It should be clear that the Church, to be one of the people, must be a democratic Church, not a feudal Church... We have to build a liberating Church. Our faith can be meaningful if we start with the mass line—mule se mass, tungo se mass, pere se mass. The essence of Christianity is total service."

JCS: I don't believe in what he says. (Laughs) We do not believe in what he says. First of all, he is not living the life of a priest. If he talks like that...

(At this point, the Cardinal is called upon to solemnize a wedding. He reads the remaining questions on the list and answers them briefly.)

DR: Many people are excited about the Basic Christian Communities or BCC being cultivated in depressed areas. What is the significance of the BCC? What are its prospects?

JCS: These Basic Christian Communities are always good if they are trying to develop love for one another. But if they develop hatred and class struggle, they are not good. A basic Christian community in the church has to develop love.

DR: What do you personally think about priests participating in affairs of the state or government, like Miguel D'Escoto and the Cardenal brothers of Nicaragus?

JCS: (No answer.)

DR: You were once invited by a group to be one of its officers. The newspapers reported that you could not accept

the invitation because you were to be present at that time in the synod in Rome. Had you no such prior commitment, would you have accepted the invitation?

JCS: I should not be there because that is political. I don't like to be involved in political activities. I have never been a political leader even though they say that I am.

DR: What would be the reaction of the Catholic Church to a military takeover of government?

JCS: Well, I do not agree that there should be a military takeover, as I have told you.

DR: Will you expound briefly on your concept of "critical collaboration"?

JCS: This critical collaboration is important because there is separation of Church and State. It is like a railroad track; they cannot be close to one another, neither can they be distant from one another. Because the Church is serving the same people (the government is supposed to serve). And so this separation is not isolation; it is collaboration. It may be critical in the sense that we should try to voice out and articulate what we feel against the failure of government. If they (the government) are doing alright, we should be one of those who should encourage. And if they are not doing alright, we should be the first to criticize.

OR: Last December, you want on a mission to the People's Republic of China, the country of your ancestors. We know that China closed its doors to the Catholic clergy for quite a period of time after 1949. What did you expect to accomplish in your mission? What were your observations about the people and the socialist construction going on in China?

JCS: I went to China, I met my relatives there and I was able to locate all of them. And they received me like a president of a country. I went there to bring good tidings. And I think I was able to do it. They became happy with my visit. The Christians kissed my ring. And this will be the beginning of mutual understanding. Because for 14 years, we had no communication with them. And row the communication is open. Teng Xiao Ping is broad-minded.

DR: You have openly criticized the President many times. So far, do you think you have been successful in getting your message across?

JCS: Well, we have been trying our best to articulate what we feel because the moment we articulate what the people feel, they become very happy. Escause we release their feelings.

DR: You have not been alone in criticizing the President of the country. But the others have been harassed, detained and even tortured for doing so. They have been called "subversives" and have been charged with "undermining the faith of the people in the government" or for "posing a threat to the security of the state." So far, you have been able to get away with it. Share with us your secret: how can others get away with it?

JCS: Many have been released because of our intervention... Okay?...

(The Cardinal finally stands up from his chair and moves to his room as interviewers thank him.)

... You will know how to elaborate... God bless you.

#### OFFICIALS URGE HIGHER PRIORITY FOR EDUCATION

HK131517 Manila BUSINESS DAY in English 13 Jun 85 p 9

[Text] Government priorities in resource allocation will have to change to enable the Education Ministry to get a bigger share of the national budget next year.

Education and Budget Ministry officials expressed this sentiment last Tuesday during the third meeting of the Teacher Welfare Committee, created by President Marcos under Letter of Instructions No 1372, as they discussed various ways of getting additional funding for the education sector.

Very few options are open to the ministry like improving tax collections. A simpler approach is to get a larger share of the national budget. In recent years, education's budget has dipped from 10 percent-12 percent of the total national budget compared to 1971's when it claimed almost one-third.

A country's budget reflects the national government's policies and priorities, said Diosdado Tuason, a Budget Ministry official who attended the meeting. At present, he said, there are so many competing claims for the government's resources.

"Unless we change the thinking of the national leadership or mother ministries to give up their claims, we would not really expect a dramatic change in the education budget," Tuason said.

Another budget official, Angelita Ofelada, said her office was "disturbed" when it first reviewed the 10-year financial plan of the ministry, in view of the huge financing required to avert the deterioration of the educational system. However, she said, "It's time to increase the share of the education sector."

Education Deputy Minister Fernando A. Bernardo noted that one of the present priorities of the government is agricultural development.

"If only government would consider education as important as food," Bernardo said, and suggested a tie-up between the two through an agricultural education program.

The 10-year financial scheme aims to arrest the erosion of education's share in the budget through a gradual increase in appropriation starting next year, when the present P [peso] 7.5-billion budget will be doubled.

Passage of the plan, however, is uncertain because of the country's financial problems and the competing demands of other sectors. Budget officials also noted during the meeting that the government gives higher priority to financing "development projects."

Education Minister Jaime C. Laya said this condition is "unfortunate" because the ministry's 10-year plan is for the "bread and butter" needs of public school teachers.

But if the government wants it done this way, the plan can be presented as a "development project," Laya said. Thus, it would treat projects like "personnel training" as an indirect method of improving teachers' compensation, the added.

GEO: 4200/1083

DETAILS, PRACTICE OF NATIONAL SERVICE LAW CRITICIZED

Makati MR. & MR. in English 17-23 May 85 pp 8-11

[Article by J. R. Alibutud: "National Service Law: Is It a Process of Conditioning?"]

[Text]

HEN 11-year-old Nilo de los Santos enrols in Grade Five somewhere in Bulacan this coming schoolyear, he will have to take up a "citizenship and national service orientation module".

Designed by the Ministry of Education and Culture in cooperation with the Armed Forces of the Philippines, the values of patriotism, civic action consciousness, nation-building and discipline will be dinned into his head. Participation in Sariling Sikap, Alay-Tanim Plant-a-tree and other government development projects will be compulsory. Duties of citizenship and desirable work attitudes will be emphasized.

From Grade Five till college, Nilo would have to take two other "modules", Law Enforcement and Military Service.

Region 3 is the pilot area for the coming schoolyear. This include the provinces of Pampanga, Tarlac, Bataan, Pangasinan, Nueva Ecija, Bulacan and Zambales.

When the 19-year-old Nilo finally completes his two-year Citizen's Military Training (CMT) requirement nearly a decade from

now, he would have had eight years of being "motivated, trained, developed, organized, mobilized and utilized by the present government." He would now embody the virtues of discipline, loyalty, and civic consciousness through the programs designed by the military and implemented through the MECS.

Having fulfilled his obligations under the National Service Law, Nilo will now form part of the National Service Force (NSF) dedicated to defending "the nation's integrity and stability against those who aim to bring it down in ruin through aimlessness, violence and misjudgment".

No longer would Nilo only be required to defend the republic against external aggression alone as required by the Constitution and the former applicable law, the National Defense Act (NDA), he would now also be obligated to help develop and police the country

according to government dictates.

With values like obedience, discipline and loyalty inculcated into him even before he even had a chance to really understand it and the society in which he lives, Nilo would now form part of the New Youth, the people who would help the present government for whatever purpose.

Obedience, loyalty and discipline are not bad values, but the problem lies in obedience, loyalty and discipline to what? With programs designed by the military what can

we expect?

"We need these values, but these values must be born out of a critical understanding of the issues, not as a form of thought control practiced by the government," said Mariz Diokno KAAKBAY member and author of a primer on the National Service Law (NSL).

Signed by President Marcos on Philippine Constabulary day, Aug. 8, 1980, PD 1706 or the National Service Law (NSL) will take effect only this year with Central Luzon and a few major cities as pilot areas. According to Lt. Gen. Fidel V. Ramos, acting Chief of Staff, it was drafted and proposed by the PC/INP.

Under PD 1706, all citizens, male or female, over ten years of age must render national service in any of three or a combination of

several training modules.

These are Civil Welfare Service, Law Enforcement Service, and Military Service. Civil Welfare Service is "any program or activity which is contributory to the general welfare or betterment of life for the members of the community, or enhancement of facilities . . . devoted to improving health, education, safety, recreation, and morale of the citizenry".

Law Enforcement Service is the "maintenance of peace and order

and those activities which encourage observance of and compliance with law".

Military Service are "programs and activities necessary to enhance

military preparedness".

The National Service Law significantly expands the scope of the original National Defense Act which formerly governed citizen service in the military. The National Defense Act which required the institution of both Citizen's Army Training (CAT) in high school and Citizen's Military Training (CMT) in college only concerned itself with the problem of external aggression. The NSL pointed concerns itself with counter-insurgency.

"Evidently, the "law and lawfully constituted authorities" which the citizens, particularly the youth, need to be motivated and trained to respect are Marcos Decrees and Marcos officials," declared the

KAAKBAY primer.

"The citizen owes loyalty to the Republic, not to an individual. His duty is to defend the State not the status quo. And he is required to cooperate only with duly constituted authorities, not with everyone in uniform; and even then, only to attain a just and orderly society, not to maintain a state of injustice and oppression."

Jose M. Crisol, Deputy Minister for home Defense and Presidential Assistant on Civic Action is quick to deny all these charges, "We are not militarizing the campuses, we are demilitarizing them. The suspicions and fears of these oppositionists is just a consequence of a lack of information or misinformation about the program."

"I do not foresee the use of either the National Service Force or the students under the National Service Program for use against internal aggression. It will be mainly to ward off external enemies," said Crisol who is the father of the NSL.

"We will not be brainwashing the children to be loval to the present government. We will teach them to be loyal to institutions. This can hardly be compared to a Nazi Youth Organization," said Crisol who was the first to introduce Psychological Warfare methods in the AFP in 1950. ("Col. Edward Lansdale was my legman. He did not know anything about Filipinos, he just provided logistical support. Mai. Gen. Josephus Ramas, head of the Philippine Army, was number one in the very first psy-op Class I taught.") Crisol is also the author of the more than two billion pesocivic action program of the AFP.

"We have enough people in the reserve force, 320,000 of them graduate every year, we don't need so much. But what we want is for the youth to help in the development of the country. The old National Defense Act provided only for military training, the NSL is broader in scope," he added.

Crisol also added that the government does not know how much the whole program would cost. Full implementation of the program is expected to take five years.

"The basic doctrine in counterinsurgency operations is that no support of the masses. Let us not be deceived by numbers. It does not really matter if the NPA has 7,000 or 12,000 or 20,000 men, it is more important to know if they are supported by the people. Five thousand men with the support of the population is more dangerous than 100,000 men without," stated Crisol.

Precisely, while the encounters

guerilla war can survive without the

Precisely, while the encounters and the ambushes and the press conferences hug the headlines and take the limelight, it will be the battle for the minds and hearts of children that would determine who will prevail. M.M.

FORMER PKP HEAD RESPONDS TO 'DISTORTED' LETTER

Makati MR. & MS. in English 17-23 May 85 pp 2, 3

[Article by Jesus B. Lava]

[Text] -

# Lies. says Lava

This is in reference to a letter published in the May 3-9 issue of Mr. & Ms. Special Edition and signed by a certain Paulino S. Rivera.

The letter repeats tired old lies about the Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (PKP) and about me personally. It makes use of the familiar device of professional slanderers: quoting out of context, and consistently resorting to lies in order to discredit the PKP and divide the left forces in favor of imperialist interests. For instance:

1. Rivera's pretense about an imagined "isolation" of the PKP from the Filipino people is absolute canard. If at all the PKP could be isolated, it would be only from those groups being successfully manipulated by U.S. imperialists.

2. Nowhere in the assailed speech or in any other of my speeches did I say, whether directly or indirectly, that Marcos is of the country's national bourgeoisle and is sincerely fighting U.S. imperialist domination in our country. Lies of this nature can come only from a deliberate agent provocateur.

3. Official statements of the Party have clearly pointed out that the Marcos administration is under imperialist diktat, and that the Marcos regime has wielded authoritarian powers to suppress the democratic rights of the people in order to protect the U.S.-dominated neocolonial system in the Philippines. Therefore, the Marcos administration must be held just as responsible for the crisis and sufferings of our people, but

in the process the main culprit - U.S. imperialism - must remain visible and identified as the principal target of attack, because it will continue to thrive even without Marcos. This has been proven by our concrete historical experiences, such as when unexposed puppets like Magsaysay replaced corrupt and unpopular regimes like Quirino's to give the people false hopes and full them into ignorance of and indifference to U.S. neocolonialism as a system. One of the many American scenarios seeks to replace Marcos with a more acceptable face to ensure political stability; to this end, U.S. imperialism will not hesitate to exploit democratic movements, especially those with a middle class character or with middle class leadership, as it has done in other countries.

I must add that I have nothing but love and respect for the genuine fighters for national liberation; for the masses and leaders of the national democratic movement, those patriots who have so unselfishly staked their very all and continue to risk their freedom and lives so that this country may truly be free and democratic. But to discount and deny the existence of some nationalist pretenders who have infiltrated the leadership, persons tasked by U.S. imperialists with fabricating the very spirit of Filipino nationalism and misdirecting nationalist niovements so as to make these compatible with and acceptable to U.S. neocolonialism, is in effect to deceive the Filipino masses and to disarm them in

the face of massive in perialist machinations. Such persons could only be, wittingly or unwittingly, instruments of American neocolonialism.

One last point: despite the lies peddled by the likes of Rivera and company, the PKP will continue to pursue the concrete interests of the masses of our people in which it is firmly rooted. The PKP was, is and always will be a party of the Filipino working people: industrial and agricultural workers, peasants, landless poor, and revolutionary middle class elements, which few parties can lay claim to.

This is not the first time that Paulino S. Rivera has come out with slander and malicious vituperation against the PKP. By this time, slandering the PKP has become his profession. One need not wonder at the real motivation of people like Rivera. From his statements, it is evident that he makes a special effort in inventing and spreading disinformation about the PKP.

His role then becomes clear: to slander the PKP with distorted information and prevent the forging of anti-imperialist unity among all left forces in the Philippines, and thus perpetuate American imperialist domination of our country.

DIOKNO ON OPPOSITION UNITY, COMMUNISM, TRADITIONAL PARTIES

Makati MR. & MS. in English 17-23 May 85 pp 26-29

[Interview with Jose Wright Diokno, Bayan President by Belinda Olivares-Cunanan: "'Insurgency Is a Propaganda Trap'"]

[Text] (Editor's note. Four days before the recently-concluded BAYAN Congress opened and five days before he was to emplane for the U.S. for a thorough physical checkup and to attend his son's graduation from an American law school. former Sen. Diokno stretched his tight schedule to accommodate an interview with Belinda Olivares-Cunanan for Mr. & Ms. In the following excerpts from that interview Sen. Diokno, who was elected president of BAYAN, talked about the NPA problem and revolution, the political situation and his role in it. and his vision of reconstruction and reconciliation).

Belinda Olivares-Cunanan (BOC):
Sen. Diokno, a recent article in
Malaya said that the choice of
candidate of the Opposition has
been narrowed down to two
Batanguenos, yourself and former
Sen. Salvador Laurel, and that you
will be the candidate of the causeoriented groups? What do you say
this?

Sen. Jose W. Diokno (JWD): To say that I would be the choice of the cause-oriented groups is rather presumptuous, I think. It is true that there are many in the causeoriented groups who seem to like the idea of my being a candidate. I'm not going to be modest about that, but I don't think it would be right to say I will be the choice because there are others being considered.

BOC: The rationale behind this talk appears to be the assumption that this group may find it difficult to accept Doy Laurel as candidate because of ideological differences and differences of approach.

JWD: That is not a very accurate rationale. The cause-oriented groups by definition are more interested in principles and programs of action rather than personalities. Consequently if the National Unification Committee (NUC) and the Convenor Group (CG) could agree on a common program of action which would be acceptable to Doy Laurel's group, then we would be one step closer to Opposition unity. This is true even for the cause-oriented groups because of their major concern for a program. We want to make sure that whoever is chosen will follow the program. In fact there is an interesting development. The CG has designated me and Sen. Jovito Salonga to meet with our counterparts in the NUC, namely MP Marcelo Fernan

and Luis Villafuerte, to form a platform committee. We are going to try to see if we can come up with something both groups will find acceptable. The first meeting is scheduled for May 3.

BOC; What are the chances of BAYAN's working together with political groups, considering BAYAN's stand on certain issues and its past boycott stance?

IWD: I'm not that optimistic at the moment, but I will say this: that it is possible. The important thing is that BAYAN precisely was formed because we all realized that unless all the organizations, groups and sectors that are adversely affected by the Marcos regime got together, it's going to be very much harder and longer to regain our freedom. Many of us are not interested in positions, but we are interested, first in gaining back our freedom, secondly, in freeing this country below the poverty line. tion. Again, don't misunderstand me. We are not against dealing with foreigners, but we will deal with them on our terms. In other words, we'll be our own masters, not anybody's serfs. The third thing is, we feel that it's an indecent situation to have 70% of families in this country below the poverty line. What we'd like to see are the basic changes that assure these three objectives. And we know as a matter of practical reality that we cannot get them until we've ousted the Marcos government.

But we are also aware of one other factor - the Marcos government is not the worst possible thing that can happen. There could be a worse military government to follow. So again we know that there has to be a protection for the people against that, and this is where the cause-oriented groups

have a role to play. This is not to say that the normal political parties are incompetent — for they are very competent in their field. It is just that in fields where elections are not really crucial the traditional political parties don't know what to do. It's not their fault, it's just the way they have been brought up. We feel that if there is a military dictatorship, the traditional electorally-oriented parties won't be able to do much, but the cause-oriented groups can, because nasanay na sila (They're used to it).

I don't think that in saying that a military takeover is one of the straws in the wind, we're trying to be Jeremiah. We're not trying to say the worst is going to happen. But suppose it does, we better be prepared for it now. And we feel that only the cause-oriented groups can protect the people against a military government. We cannot prevent a military government from happening, but we think that if, for instance, we are strong enough to declare a general strike and make it stick, even the military will think twice about setting up a military government.

BOC: Is it all systems go for BAYAN as far as the coming elections are concerned?

JWD: No, not that simple. We are creating four commissions, one of which will study the electoral struggle. This electoral commission will dialogue with the political parties, and cooperation will depend on agreement on certain basic principles. It is safe to say at this point that we are looking forward to working together with the political parties and it is for that purpose that we are dialoguing. If it is not possible to work with them for one reason or another, we have two alternatives: 1) either we field our own candidates, or

 we boycott. I'm positive that a third possible alternative, supporting the present regime, will never be considered.

BOC: A lot will depend on your negotiations in the platform committee of the CG-NUC because, as you yourself said, BAYAN buys programs and principles not personalities. How will you handle the issues that are considered thorny, where disagreement could possibly come in?

IWD: I think that at least on basic principles, siguro naman hindi nagkakatba ng sobra ang lahat ng political leaders dito sa ating bayan, (There's not much difference among all political leaders in this country). For instance, on the U.S. bases, I have a letter from Doy Laurel himself addressed to Sen. Tanada in late December or early January of this year. In it he says that personally he is opposed to the U.S. bases because they are a diminution of Philippine sovereignty, and they also expose the country to danger. So it is only the matter of the referendum which he proposed which could be discussed.

I think that we could sit down and figure out why and what is the need for this referendum. In such an event, for instance, the Opposition leadership has to take a position just the same, anyhow. They will have to say that their position will have to be against retaining the bases. If that is their point, and if there is unanimity among the leaders, then there might not be any need for a referendum.

BOC: Among the issues raised against you are your anti-American stand and your so-called Communist leanings. What do you say about these?

IWD: First of all, I am not and never have been a Communist. I have defended the Communists

very strongly in court, because I believe that everybody has the right to the best possible defense. I believe that if we are not prepared to defend Communists, then they are right in criticizing our society, then it means our system of justice is no good. On the other hand, in my dealings with them I have learned that there is a lot of paranoia regarding the Communists, which stems largely from ignorance. The Communists are just like us - they have two feet, two hands and one head. They are Filipinos. Of course they have a way of looking at things which is different from the way most of us look at things, but I think that it is important that we should listen to what they have to say because it is important that we hear all sides.

To my mind, one over-riding argument that cannot be dismissed is that the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) has increased in power and influence from 1972 to now by at least 10 to 15 times. No guerrilla government or organization can increase like that unless it has good support from the people, and it will not get that support unless it is doing some good. What is it that it is doing? I think personally that it is the fact that the CPP is in many parts of the country dispensing justice and protecting the people from the abuses of the military and other government officials. And therefore, if I am right, then we have nothing to fear from Communist ideology. What we should be doing is learning now how they are able to do justice and why people support them. But we can't do this if we continue to deal with them as if they were lepers, whom we wouldn't even be in the same room with.

BOC: A lot of people seem more concerned with the insurgency problem than with the economic crisis. Many people are worried about an NPA takeover.

IWD: One reason is because we are all falling for the propaganda trap of both Mr. Marcos and the U.S. government, which want all our attention to bear on the 'insurgency' problem, as they call it, and after that, on the economic problem, which, to my mind, is more basic. The economic problem is partly the reason for the 'insurgency' problem. Marcos, for example, with U.S. blessings, has set aside P1 billion for civic action. This does not cure the problem. because it does not go to the root of the problem, which is the very inequitable system that we have in this country of the distribution of income and wealth. That has to be improved. I am not for eliminating private property or entrepreneurs, because in the Philippine situation, the realities are such that if we don't move the entrepreneurs and encourage them, who is to develop new things, in this country? Certainly not the government. Now, there are things the government must do to improve the distribution of income in the country; there must be a bigger mix not or socialist, but socially-oriented policies in government. You must look at the social cost of any policy and see to it that these are not borne by the poor as is happening today. This is what I am against - if this makes me a Communist, then I am glad to be one. But I think this is not Communism, but simple social justice, which is what we need.

Regarding the NPA take-over, I am not so worried about this, than about having an out and out revolution with its consequent great loss of lives. If we can capture power from this regime by means short of an out and out revolution, I think we should try it. We have never experienced civil war here. One country that has is the U.S., and it has taken centuries and still the wounds between its North and its South have not healed. Here what we have called revolution is what today they would call wars of liberation. We have been fighting against the foreign colonial powers. But let us take what is closest to Eivil war, which is, what is happening in Mindanao. In that area, you can see people get killed on both sides. Do you think it would be possible for their families to reconcile? Mahirap yata yan. (That's difficult).

BOC: You came out in the Bishops-Businessmen's Conference last March batting for legalization of the CPP, which is also part of the platform of the CG. You also said that you do not expect them to put down their arms, that they should be allowed to continue carrying their arms to help check the excesses of government and ensure that it behaves. Can you explain this further?

JWD: What I'm saying is that I don't want to make it a condition to legalization that they should put down their arms, because the moment you do that they'll say that you have an ulterior motive. Kasi nangyari na sa kanila iyan. (Because that has happened to them before). In the time of the Huks, they were asked to put down their arms, and some did, and then they were killed. What I would expect them to do is to stop using armed struggle temporarily and to see whether the government is really doing its job and keeping its promises. If so, later on, they can give up their arms if they wantBOC: In his interview with
Newsweek magazine, former newsman and now rebel and reportedly
head of the CPP today Antonio
Zumel stated that he does not
believe that there will be a diminution of popular support for the
revolution even if an Opposition
candidate gets into power. This is
because, Zumel said, our people
want thorough going changes in the
system and will not stand for mere
cosmetic reforms. Can you
comment on this?

JWD: I believe Zumel said this, if he was quoted properly, because he does not see the possibility or probability of a government that has the support of the people, which is trying to make fundamental reforms.

BOC: Do you think the Opposition can really effect reforms?

JWD: Yes it is possible. In fact to my mind, that was one of the biggest failings of the Marcos administration. For the first two years of martial law, the Marcos government could have done anything it wanted in this country. The price of our exports was high and general euphoria was all .... around. Peace and order was good and there was discipline among the people. Pero wala siyang ginawa. Wala siyang naisip kundi ang sarili niyang kapakanan, at ang kapakanan ng mga 'cronies' niya. (But he didn't do anything. He thought only of himself and his cronies). If only he had thought of the good of the people and pushed through the programs he had, he could have done it.

BOC: Do you think that if you

become president, you could win over the majority of the 90% whom you consider mere sympathizers of the NPA.

IWD: Yes, I am confident that I can. In fact I am sure I can win over even many of the ideologues. I will tell you why. The ideologues, if they really believe in Marx, and they do, believe that socialism is inevitable. But they also believe, following Marx, that to arrive at socialism, they must first push through capitalism. If I have understood that correctly, there is no reason why they shouldn't support a change to a capitalist system. because for them, this is one step to reaching the socialist system that ultimately they would like to reach. Even Jose Ma. Sison's writings bear this out - he does not speak of an immediate transfer or change to socialism or Communism, but of democratic nationalism. What that really means, . . . according to Sison, is that there will still be capitalism in this country first, before it can transform successfully to socialism.

BOC: Tony Zumel was also quoted in the Newsweek interview as having said that assuming the Opposition could get into power, the U.S. and its local people, however, would not allow the dismantling of certain structures here. What can you say to this?

JWD: That is possible. In fact, you can see what the U.S. is now doing in Nicaragua, where it even actively supports the contras, the rebels against the Sandinista regime. But I also feel that because we have learned from the Nicaraguan experience, and that of other countries, I think that we can counteract

successfully many U.S. tactics. Much will depend on how well the people can be awakened to the realities of our situation. If we try to play ball with the Americans, there can be no fundamental reforms, because real fundamental changes in this country would have an effect on American investments. No way can you go around that, Fundamental reforms would call for complete control over national defense, which means that the vital decisions that affect the national defense would be done by Filipinos. That means the bases would have to go. Secondly, many of the industries that the U.S. has established here are dependent on maintaining the status quo, especially those that cater to simple, pure consumerism. In a meaningful reform those are among the types of industries that are going to be affected. Certainly I foresee that there will be basic problems with American business as well as with the American military.

BOC: Just how real is this so-called 'American clout' in Philippine politics. It is often said that no candidate would win the presidency without the blessings of Uncle Sam?

JWD: I think personally that this so-called American clout is terribly overrated. I think many of our people are already sufficiently awake even to the realities of foreign domination and would no longer be led by the nose. The best way to find out just how significant this clout is, is to field a candidate not acceptable to the U.S. Then we will really find out.

BOC: What do you think of the moderate Opposition and their struggle for unity?

JWD: I think they are doing very well, but I think they are also a little blind to the awakening that has taken place in our people. You cannot play this game of politics according to the rules of electoral politics, which assume that the country is free, when in fact it is not. And this is where the causeoriented groups have more realism than the traditional parties. In cities like Davao, Cebu and Bacolod, cause-oriented groups are better-attuned to the reality. In the rural areas, however, particularly in the very remote ones, they can still use patronage, as you cannot change the system overnight; moreover, in some areas they can also use terrorism. But by and large, in my opinion, people who would think that our common average citizens are still controllable by the old political methods are in for a rude awakening. BOC: Do you feel prepared for the job of being president? Do you have any illusions about the difficulties that such a job would entail? JWD: No, I have no illusions at all. And yes, if I did not think I could tackle the job I would be the first to say no, don't consider me anymore. Kung sa kaya ng katawan ko, kaya. (1 can do it). That's why I am going for a complete check-up, to make sure I find out definitely how healthy I am. I would like to keep my health, not necessarily because I'm considering running. That's not a very important thing. But I would like to keep my health because I think I can contribute something, whether I am in government or not, whether I am a candidate or not, to the reconstruction, the reconciliation, the reunification of our country, and toward setting clearer goals.

BOC: How do you envision the job of reconstruction. If by some act of fate you do get elected, what will be the first things you will do.

JWD: Okay, well the first thing that you got to do is to restore the morality of government service. You got to get people feeling really proud of being Filipinos and proud of serving in government. Without this pride, no matter what you do, your whole effort is going to collapse.

It's not only I, but the entire Opposition that can do so, and that is its primary job. Of course that means that there are certain steps we have to make. We cannot allow known crooks to participate in government because all our efforts to lift the moral standards are going to be a farce. The next thing we have to do is to put forward an immediate program to alleviate the hardships of the lower income groups. But you cannot have one program which you will copy for all the regions, for problems and conditions will vary from region to region,

The third thing we have to do is to get a complete inventory of all these foreign debts of the nation, to find out the real score. Where the money went, who really got it. Find out if the foreign banks knew that there was something fishy, or even if they did not know, if they could have found it by the exercise of reasonable business experience. And third, if there was bribery or corruption between foreign banks and the local people. If the foreign banks, knew or could have known that their loans were not going to be properly used, but did not take the appropriate steps, For whenever there was bribery or corruption involved, wewill repudiate these loans.

BOC: You were supposed to have advocated that you would not recommend the immediate abolition of Amendment 6 simply because you felt that whoever would succeed Mr. Marcos would need some strongarm methods of effecting muchneeded reforms. Can you explain this?

JWD: When we were discussing this in the Convenor Group, I called the attention of my colleagues and told them, 'Let's be practical. gentlemen. If any of us takes over in a snap election he would be faced with a Batasan which is controlled by the KBL. If you don't have the power to legislate how can you repeal the unconstitutional laws of Marcos?' For example, what can you do about the laws against strikes or the repressive decrees? I proposed to the Convenor Group to deliberate about this, but the majority said it is immoral to advocate Amendment 6. After all, they reasoned out, if you are a real leader, you should be able to convince others, including the KBL assemblymen, without resorting to something like Amendment 6, And since I belong to the group, I chose to abide by the decision of the majority about Amendment 6, which is, to call for its immediate repeal. M M

COLUMNIST ON STRENGTH, EVENTS OF LABOR DAY MARCHES

Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 3 May 85 p 4

[Commentary by Armando J. Malay in the "Please Pass the Salt" column: "There Was a March"]

[Text]

" What cannot be denied is that there was a long march last Wedneeday, May 1, on the occasion of Labor Day, As a matter of facts there were several merches. The one I witnessed was the merch that came from Cubeo, peeing through Espana Blvd. on its way to Liwasang Bonifacio. Other merars came from other starting points in the Metro Manila area:

The murches were hald despite the threat of Police Gen. Narciso Cabrera that his menspoild disperse them because they had no permit. As a matter of fact, from Pantranco to Liwmang Bonifació, I did not see any single policeman. Men and women were marching ten abreast, carrying scores, of banners, chanting nationalist songs. Vehicular traffic was stopped from the FEU area to Plaza Miranda because of a

cultural presentation in front of the Quiapo Church. No march? Don't fool yourself. Enthusiastic marches were held, despite Cabrera's threat. Or, more properly, marches were held because of his threat. It only went to prove that if the masses really want to take to the streats to voice their grievances, there's no army strong enough to stop them?

It is admitted that the number of people who converged in front of the Bureau of Posts ween't as big as in 1983. To me, that's not very important, And if we consider that bigger marches were hald in the provinces and in the other cities, the total number of workers who did brave the heat of the sun and were ready to be clubbed or maned down, mimbered a million. The mess gatherings on Labor Day should serve as a warning that when the masses do want to show their protest in public, they can do so without minding the possible consequence.

The KMU's red flag was hoisted on the flampole in front of the post office, and there were no police or soldiers to prevent its hoisting, Could this have happened before? The speeches were more vitriolic than in the past and the peoch-making lasted for hours. As nobody in Liwasang Bonifacio could see helmeted police armed with trunchions and wearing helmets, there was a relaxed atmosphere throughout. It only proved that if the police/military keep away, there would be no trouble.

So, to those who seemed worried that the number of marchers and rallyists wasn't

in the hundreds of thousands as hoped, I sey: Nover mind, It's not numbers that are most important. What is cignificant was the fact that despite General Cabrera's threat to disperse the marchers - a threat that was widely sired in the media - thousands did take to the streets. And it was heartening to note that the "old reliables" were conspicuous in the merch and the rally, relaxed in the belief that these was nothing to be afmid"of because the man action was an exercise of a right enshrined in the constitution. When fear is absent, anything is possible, provided the cause is just.

# COLUMNIST ON UNOFFICIAL EXCHANGE RATE

Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 3 May 85 p 3

[Article by Jake Macasaet in the "Business Views" column: "Ongpin CB Sets the Tone on Rates"]

# [Text]

It now appears reasonable to believe that if the government had not tolerated or encouraged the so-called Binondo or Ongpin Central Bank, the rate of the peso against the dollar could be much higher than the present level of P18.50.

The private sector, particularly businessmen whose operations require imported components, are closely watching the Binondo rate rather than the official interbank rate. For as long as the Ongpin rates do not fluctuate violently beyond the P18.50 (or less) level, there should be no cause for alarm.

In effect, this is saying that the Binondo or Ongpin CB — illegal as it is — is the more credible measure of the lack or abundance of dollars. The Binondo rate also indicates or rather confirms the lingering suspicion that there are more hard currencies circulating in the blackmarket than in the official coffers of the financial system.

It is probably in recognition of this fact that monetary authorities in this country, reportedly at the prodding of Trade and Industry Minister Roberto Ongpin, himself a member of the Monetary Board, tolerated — even encouraged the operation of this alternative source of hard currencies. The first move of government in this direction, made in late 1983, was to round up around a dozen known dollar amugglers. About as many — if not more — appeared to continue with the highly profitable operation.

It was at this point that sovernment decided to adopt a time-honored way of solving a problem: "If you can't lick 'em, join 'em." The operation is manned by five Chinese Filipinos, probably the most experienced in the dollar smuggling business. In nearly two years of operation, the Onepin or Binondo CB has been remitting to Hong Kong an average of \$5 million a day, five times a week. The funds are traded the following day in two rooms of a Chinese bank building along Juna Luna St. in the heart of Binondo.

It is now believed that if the government had not involved sizelf in the operation, the perowould have shrunk so much deeper in relation to the dollar, the high interest rates notwithstanding. The validity of this belief comes from the fact that in the best or worst of times, the official floating rate of the dollar has historically followed the movements in the underground

market. If this market had not been reined in, the rate could be as high as P30 to the dollar and the speculation will never be dampened.

A ranking monetary official had flatly denied that government money is involved in operating the Binondo . CB. This means that the members of the so-called "magic five" are themselves financing the operation and are, therefore, pocketing the profits and probably not paying taxes.

The business community has never openly questioned the legality of the Ongpin CB. Businessmen know only too well the beneficial effects of its existence as an alternative — and cheaper—source of foreign exchange. Lately, however, two valid questions have been raised regarding the operation.

Why does the Ongpin CB have to ship the dollars out to a bank in Hong Kong daily and pay one-fourth of one per cent fee to convert the hard currencies into negotiable instruments such as drafts and telegraphic transfers? The dollars can very well be surrendered to the CB or its authorized. agents (principally commercial banks), I understand the Binondo CB plays at least

\$100,000 a day in fees - five days a week - to a bank in Hong Kong.

I understand too, that two members of the pool — a father and his son, — do not make accurate reports of their sales. It is entirely possible, for example, that a certain corporation or person is listed by the father-and-son team as buyers of specified amounts of foreign exchange, at a specified price.

There is a strong possibility that not all of the names appearing in the list and presented to the "governor" of the Ongoin CB are actual buyers. If this is so, the amount of foreign exchange represented as having been sold to those appearing in the list could have been pocketed by the taum and sold eisewhere for a much higher margin.

### ARRIVAL OF FUEL FOR NUCLEAR PLANT REPORTED

HK121531 Manila BUSINESS DAY in English 12 Jun 85 p 22

[By reporter Abrino Aydinan]

[Text] A shipment of uranium fuel apparently for the Bataan nuclear power plant recently left an Americanport and should have reached Manila by now.

The Philippine Atomic Energy Commission (PAEC) is still hearing arguments for or against allowing the nuclear plant to run.

The National Power Corp, owner of the 620-megawatt nuclear power plant, denies the existence of the fuel shipment.

The "fossile fuel" loaded in four containers consigned to "National Power Corp, Manila" was shipped out of the port of Norfolk Virginia, early last month in an American ship.

The shipment was shrouded in secrecy apparently to foil detection by opponents of the nuclear plant. However, an international antinuclear network monitored the transfer of the cargo in Hong Kong from the American ship to a transhipment vessel.

Asked for comment on the new fuel shipment, NPC senior vice president for engineering Josue Polintan said through spokesperson Pat Gutierrez that there has been none after a first batch or uranium rods that arrived last year.

The arrival of the additional fuel would support reports reaching BUSINESS DAY, but officially denied by NPC, that it is preparing for the Bataan reactor's fuel loading possibly within the month.

A first batch or uranium fuel rods from Westinghouse arrived last September, when the reactor core loading was earlier scheduled. The plant's start-up operation was first set for late last year or early this year, until the Supreme Court stopped the NPC plan so that the public hearings can be held first.

The Bataan nuclear project has sustained many delays, including a nine-month stoppage of construction ordered by President Marcos in the wake of the Three-Mile Island nuclear plant accident in the United States in 1979.

Critics assailing the \$1.9-billion "excessive" cost of the Bataan nuclear plant and its "threat" to public safety believe the government is dead-set to start the plant's operation.

NPC says it is losing some \$355,000 for every day that the Bataan plant's operation is delayed, on account of the interest charges on the foreign loans that financed the project.

The critics think the holding of the PAEC hearings is a formality that will lead to the licensing of the nuclear plant operator.

Major antinuclear organizatons, including the group representated by former Sen. Lorenzo Tanada, who has led the opposition to the Bataan nuclear project from the start, are boycotting the PAEC hearings. They charged the government with "bias" in favor of NPC, a government-owned corporation.

## ARTICLE SAYS MODERATE UNION LOSING MEMBERS TO KMU

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Cebu City VISAYAN HERALD in English 6 May 85 p 2

[Article by the Information and Publicity Committee, Coalition Against People's Persecution: "ALU Is Yellow Labor Union-CAPP"]

[Text] The Associated Labor Union (ALU) is definitely on the way out of the labor scene together with other yellow labor unions as more and more workers are realizing its real nature and turning to militant and genuine trade unions affiliated with the Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU).

This was the observation of Atty. Vic Balbuena when asked to comment on ALU's attacks against KMU-affiliated Alyansa sa mga Mamumuo sa Sugbo (AMA-Sugbo) which is likewise a member of the Coalition Against People's Persecution (CAPP) wherein he is the chairman.

In fact, Balbuena cited, workers in companies where ALU once had Collective Bargaining Agreements like Visayan Glass, Premier, Castilex and Atlas Consolidated were the first ones to call ALU a fake in last Wednesday's mass action despite appeals by leaders and marshalls to refrain from shouting such.

He claimed that these very workers are living witnesses to the opportunist and fake nature of ALU as he expressed relief that a bloody confrontation did not ensue when an ALU member struck a supporter of AMA with a rattan pole in the recent AMA-led mass action.

"Thanks to the massive public support for militant trade unionism expressed by the mass action's massive turnout, ALU was deterred from resorting to dirty tricks they are noted for just like what happened in recent strikes in Sweet Lines and Castilex," Balbuena said.

The CAPP chairman added that Cebuanos, especially the labor sector, must not be deceived by ALU's recent distancing from the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship since ALU and TUCP's main motive is to curve its increasing loss of members for being the dictatorship's company union even as this does not cure it of its being a yellow labor union.

In fact, Balbuena claimed, TUCP head Democrito Mendoza in his May 1 speech as well as ALU radio hacks reserve more of their time and most virulent verbal attacks against militant trade unionists and militant groups opposed to the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship than in upholding workers' rights and denouncing the administration for being anti-labor.

## ECONOMIST EXPLORES SUGAR FAILURE, LINKS TO CRONIES

Kuching THE BORNEO POST in English 4 May 85 p 9

[Article by S. Collas-Monsod, assistant professor of economics at the University of the Philippines' School of Economics: "Marcos' Sweet Monopoly"]

[Text]

MANILA - When President Ferdinand Marcos disbanded the governmentrun Philippine Sugar Commission two months ago, its reputation was in tatters. Since 1974, the commission and its predecessor, Philex, have had a monopoly on the nation's domestic and international sugar trading and had presided over the worst period in the industry's history.

The International Monetary Fund had been campaigning for its dismantlement. The National Assembly was investigating charges of mismanagement. An interagency government task force had recommended that the sugar industry be

opened up to the free market.

Moreover, as a team of economists at the University of the Philippines had concluded, the monopoly cost farmers between \$590 million and \$750 million in revenue between 1974 and 1953, Unemployment in the sugar industry today runs at 31% (170,000 people). The status of workers in the sugar industry has been deteriorating steadily. Before 1976 the law required that they be paid more than other agricultural workers; since then, they are by law paid less.

The True Culprit

The cause of the crisis in the sugar industry, like the causes of the overall Philippine economic crisis, has been the subject of endless debate. The government's explanation resembles its explanation for the country's other economic wors. It maintains both have been caused by external forces-in the case of the sugar industry by wildly fluctuating world sugar prices, which have been very low for the past two years.

But the true culprit for the current crisis is the government itself. As long as it retains its monopoly, the industry won't recover. The inefficiencies that have plagued it for the past decade will continue. The current reorganization of the sugar commission, which almost certainly will leave ultimate control of the commission in government hands, is unlikely to help. It completely ignores the recommendations of the government task force.

The roots of government intervention in the sugar industry can be traced back 50 years to the Sugar Limitation Law. which allowed the government to allocate the amount of sugar that could be exported. In 1974, the government mono-polized sugar trading through Philex and subsequently through the Philippine Si ar Commission (Philsucom), and its overseas trading arm, National Sugar Trading Corp. (Nasutra). Since then. presidential decrees have given Phil-sucom more and more privileges, including exemptions from taxes and import duties, supervision and control of planters' cooperatives, authority to create affiliate private corporations, and authority to horrow money from local and foreign so....cs.

Last February, the government an nounced that the sugar monopoly was ending and declared a so-called "free trading system" in which planters supposedly would be allowed to trade independently, without going through Nasutra. There was, however, a big catch: Nasutra would still be a trader, and the planters could go to it on a "voluntary and contractual basis."

In April, the effective date of the free trading system was moved up to Aug. 31. Then in June, exports were placed back in the hands of Nasutra, with free trading allowed only in the domestic market.

But with Nasutra as a competitor, free trade was nothing but an illusion. Planters were financially vulnerable. If they did not "voluntarily" sign trading contracts with Nasutra, the agency could tand did) further delay payment of previous sugar deliveries. This made planters delinquent in the payment of their crop loans from Philsucom-controlled banks, with resulting higher interest charges and the threat of foreclosure. They also became ineligible for new crop loans.

Planters suffered other losses when the domestic price of sugar dropped, despite a national inflation rate of nearly 60%. Charges were made in the National Assembly that Nasutra was deliberately manipulating prices in order to get the planters to recapitulate and ask for Nasutra's reinstatement as the sole trader.

Reberto Benedicto, head of Philsucom and a close friend of President Marcos, laces criminal charges of smuggling sugar into the country, allegedly to depress domestic prices. The charges have been brought by 51 opposition members, who claim that Mr. Benedicto illegally imported 287,000 metric tons of sugar and dumped it on the local market Mr. Benedicto has denied the charges, saying that the sugar was brought in to be refined here and was subsequently reexported. The charges are being investigated by a special anti-graft prosecutor in Manila.

An unfortunate result of the criminal charges against Mr. Benedicto coupled with the government's disbanding of Philsucom was the abrupt termination of the National Assembly's investigation of the sugar industry. President Marcos's party, which has a majority in the National Assembly, was able to halt the investigation.

One of the few meaningful pieces of information that the National Assembly was able to elicit/from Philisucom before its probe was terminated was a list of approved traders—that is, firms that received allocations of sugar for domestic trading. The list, which was not complete, contained the names of 287 traders approved for last June.

An investigation has been made at the Securities and Exchange Commission (for partnerships and corporations) and the Bureau of Domestic Trade (for single proprietorships) into the background of the firms that received the largest diocations—25 firms with allocations of at least 10,000 piculs (one picul equals about 63 kilograms). These 25 firms account for 66% of the sugar allocated in June.

There seem to be no consistent criteria for the allocation of sugar to traders. Neither experience nor financial ability seem to be major factors. For example, the firms with the three largest allocations, Noah's Atk Merchandising (100,000 piculs). Stallion Enterprises (75,000 piculs), and L.M. Ranao (75,000 piculs), all are single proprietorships. The Bureau of Domestic Trade file for the latter two show that they registered for business in the early 1980s, with invested capital of 20,000 and 200,000 pesus respectively. (The BDT file for Noah's Ark could not be located.) These three firms constitute 1% of the number of firms awarded allocations but account for 22% of the total volume allocated for June.

On the other hand, Area Trading, one of the oldest and, prior to the monopoly, one of the largest sugar trading corporations, got an allocation of only 27,000 piculs.

It is interesting to note that the president's brother, Pacifico Marcos, is chairman of the board of two firms this urefco and Consolidated Sugar) that were awarded allocations of 75,000 piculs. Balatucan, a firm that is not registered with either the SEC or RDT, got 45,000 piculs. There could be a typographical error here, though, since a firm with an almost identical name, Balatocon, is registered with the SEC. Balatocon is run by the head of the Philippine Heart Center, one of the First Lady's pet projects.

The findings of a government interagency task force headed by the National Economic and Development Authority point to the government monopoly as the main culprit in the current sugar crisis. The group, which was was formed last year, completed its work early this year. Their findings and recommendations are capsulized in an 88-page summary. The recommendations have been ignored by the government, which announced its plans for the reorganization of the sugar commission more than two weeks after the study was completed.

According to the still-unreleased report, the government monopoly in sugar has "worked to the disadvantage of the sugar industry in general and the sugar producers in particular." Among its fallings, the report lists the high trading costs incurred in marketing of sugar; the substantial lusses attributed to waste, pittering and other in-transit inefficiencies; the late adjustments and dalayed implementation of price increases; and the lack of awareness on the part of producers about the reasonable return on sugar sold to Nasutra.

It also emphasizes the sugar commission's lack of public accountability, the huge data gaps and inconsistencies, and its anomalous position as both regulator and competitor in the milling, refining and trading of sugar.

One of the study's major recommendations is that sugar trading be opened up to the free market. It recommends the provision of a temporary system to ensure an orderly shift from the government's monopoly to a free-enterprise system. This interim system would be a semimonopoly, under which exports would be under the control of an agency controlled by planters, while domestic trading would be free.

Vulnerable to 'Persuasion'

It also recommends that Philsucom be reorganized to concentrate on research and development. This was ignored under Mr. Benedicto, despite an average national yield pet hectare lower than in other major sugar-producing countries.

None of these recommendations was followed in the Philsucom reorganization announced in February. Instead, the government has called for a shift from a government monopoly to a private monopoly that it almost certainly will control.

Under the plan, which takes effect in May, planters and millers will elect six of the nine commissioners on the reorganized Philisucom board. (One of the six will be elected chalrman.) The remaining three commissioners will be appointed by the government. To control the commission, all the government needs is two supporters out of the six private sector representatives, a feat that shouldn't be too difficult to achieve since the precarious financial condition of the producers and millers makes them vulnerable to being "persuaded" to vote for government-backed candidates.

Instead of being left to market forces, the sugar industry is likely to end up right where it started: firmly in the hands of the government. In the words of one observer, the "new" sugar commission will be simply "the same dog with a different collar."

## SUGAR OUTPUT MAY FALL 35 PERCENT

Kuala Lumpur BUSINESS TIMES in English 6 May 85 p 5

[Text]

BACOLOD, May 5
SUGAR production in the
Philippines is expected to
fail 35 per cent to 1.5 millium tonnes in the current
rrop year ending in Aurrop year ending in August, Franklin Fuentebella, president of the
Planters' Association of
South Negros, said.

The told a national convention of sugar protincers that output could Tall a further 20 per cent in the 1985 86 crop year.

The Philippine Sugar Commission (Philsucom) has said it expects output in the current year to drop to 1.8 million Junes from 2.3 million in

the 1983 84 year.
The Labour Ministry has estimated that some 450,000 sugar planters are unemployed because of production cuts. The inserent world price of sugar is about four US cents a pound against Philippine production cost of 12 115 cents.

yu"The situation is very grave. It is threatening the very survival of the industry," Mr Fuentebella told some 1,000 planters at the convention. Reuter

#### KMU SEEKS GOVERNMENT AID FOR AILING COMPANIES

Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 22 Apr 85 p 2

[Text] The Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU), one of the country's largest labor organizations, urged the government yesterday to subsidize ailing Filipino companies.

The KMU said the move would help prevent an increase in unemployment as it would stop many companies from having to go on retrenchment programs to continue operations.

Rolando Olalia, KMU chairman, said that at least 2 million workers were laid-off last year due to the losses incurred by many companies brought about by the economic crisis and the lack of new credit facilities.

He said the uncertain economic prospect for 1985 could result into the growth of the unemployment level that is presently estimated at around 15 percent. The government must solve the problem through the subsidy of distressed Filipino firms, Olalia added.

Olalia said that if the government can help mismanaged large corporations, there is no reason why it cannot provide minimal subsidy to small companies that are now threatened by their limited sources of capital.

The government assistance to endangered firms will definitely save millions of workers and boost productivity, which is vital to the economic recovery, he said.

He also called on private employers to stop laying off workers, to cut the cost of production, since the terminated workers could not cope with the economic crisis.

Company managements should implement a moratorium on the termination and rotation of workers to ensure relief to the families of the ordinary laborers, he said.

KMU also proposed that additional benefits must be given to displaced workers, who will have a hard time getting employment during the present situation.

Olalia said that a separation pay equivalent to a 2-month salary will provide the displaced workers the money to seek new sources of income. Eighty-one international labor leaders are expected to attend the 10-day International Solidarity Affair of the Kilusang Mayo Uno, which will culminate in the celebration of the International Workers' Day on 1 May.

Labor leaders from 15 countries, including England, Ireland, Switzerland, Norway, Canada, France, Japan, Malaysia, Australia, New Zealand, Belgium, Holland, Italy, and the United States, have confirmed their participation.

Activities for this year's solidarity affair include solidarity conferences, exposures to workers' communities and the Export Processing Zones, fact-finding tours, visit to detention centers, and cultural events.

The ongoing International Art Exhibit at the Mt Carmel Social Hall and the play Welga! Welga! will also be features of the 10-day affair.

SAN MIGUEL SALES TOP 10 BILLION PESOS

Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 4 May 85 p 17

[Text]

Sales of Sin Mignel Corporation (SMC) Seriano said that this cent last year to achieved in a P10.300 billion but the very net income after m teres grew by only may 4.6 percent to

Earnings per 105,779,008 chares outstanding at the end of 1984; assumed to P3.90 me pared to PS.82 a NET 1450.

This was reported by Eduardo M. Co-juangeo Jr., chairman of the board and chief etive officer, and tree Seriene III, president and chief senting 65 percent of operating officer, to the company's not SMC's 19,782 stockholders in the am report released yesterday.

Cojuangeo and ed by 60 per- level of profits was

These conditions, they added, had been existing for some time, but became more prenounced during 1984.

A total of P374,350,000 repre

8 M C paid P2,641,880,000 in

taxes in 1984 as against only P1,399,925,000 in 1968. The substantial rise in tax payments resulted from the additional specific and of valorem taxes imposed on hear preducts during the

P4.843,721,000 as et current liabilities of P3,163,527,000 gave SMC a working capitDecember 31, compared to 2.29 the provious year.

Beer sales imroved over the 19

The purkaging progains despite the SMC a working capits general decline in al ratio of 1.53 as of domestic demand.

COVERNMENT TO REIMBURSE PLANTERS FIRM

Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 4 May 85 pp 17, 18

[Article by Rene Alviar]

[Text]

The Commission on Audit (COA) ordered the Fertiliner and Posticides Authority (FPA) yesterday to pay Planters Products, Inc. the sum of close to P130 million representing part of PPTs reimbursement claims on "mandated" lesse.

Prancisco Tantalo, COA chairman, disclosed this before newman preterday after assessing COA's perfermance in 1984, particularly regarding the enditing of government-owned and or controlled or-

prestions.
Tentuico said the amount represented 73 percent of PPTs 1962 claims for reinbursement which should have been immediately paid upon filing for reimbursement in accordance with regulations of

the FPA and the

The P120 million, added to the P100 million already released to be paid to PPI but held in treat by FPA, or a total of P220 million, is est poeted to be more than except to pay the accounts of treat receipt bankcreditors of the fortiliser manufacturing firm in the amount of P200 million, plus interests of a little over P15 million.

With the release of the P130 million, PPI still has to be paid. P106 million representing 27 percent; held by the COA to cover any disallements in the company's claims for reinforcements.

PPI is claiming a total of PS21.457 millies in the ferm of reimbursement claims from FPA, P22.003 million representing 10 percent ad valorum tax refunds, and F51.184 million representing advances to Planters Foundation, Inc. (FPD.

The claims of PPE covered the period from 1973 to 1962. COA said that out of PPTs P321.437 million claims for reimbursement, a total of P238 million have so far been ordered released, including the P120 million endersed yesterday and the P22 million released in February this year.

this year.

COA said that the total subsidy claims filed by PPI with the FPA from the start of the subsidy program in 1973 up to its lifting on May 21, 1982

amounted to P1.4 billion. An additional claim of P163.51 million has been filed for the period from May 23 to Dec. 31, 1963 relative to the inventory of stocks.

It said that the remaining balance that has still to be paid totalled PSS million, adding that it has disallowed payment of about PST.7 million of the total claims of PPL

#### BRIEFS

DEFENSE CHIEF MEETS MINDANAO LEADERS--Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile is meeting in Davao City today with Mindanao leaders. The defense minister is expected to take up the peace and order situation in the region with the Mindanao leaders. The occasion is the meeting of the peace and order council for eastern Mindanao. Enrile is expected to make policy statements on counterinsurgency. [Text] [Quezon City Maharlika Broadcasting System in English 0400 GMT 14 Jun 85 HK]

FARMER KILLS NPA TAX COLLECTOR--In Makibala, Cotabato, a farmer, disgruntled over excessive forcible taxation by the NPA, killed an NPA tax collector in Barangay Dagupan. The farmer was identified as Roberto de Vera. Army investigators said De Vera was visited by Jimmy Butay, alias Commander Rogel, who regularly collected four cavans of rice and some cash to support the NPA. De Vera shot and wounded Butay with his own pistol and then hacked him to death. De Vera told probers he and the other farmers in Dagupan were already tired of the taxes being forced upon them by the NPA. Barangay Dagupan is a village reportedly under the NPA influence. [Text] [Quezon City Maharlika Broadcasting System in English 0400 GMT 14 Jun 85 HK]

POLICEMEN FIELDED FOR SCHOOL OPENINGS—About 600 uniformed policemen will be fielded in the northern police district for the opening of classes on Monday. This was approved by MPD [Manila Police Department] Superintendent Brigadier General Alfredo Lim. Lim said the uniformed policemen will be reinforced by [words indistinct] and plainclothes officers whose principal task will be to go after snatchers, pickpockets, estortionists, and robbers. [Text] [Quezon City Maharlika Broadcasting System in English 0800 GMT 13 Jun 85 HK]

SINGAPORE

# NEW FINANCE MINISTER APPOINTED

Kuala Lumpur BUSINESS TIMES in English 8 May 85 p 1

[Text] Singapore, May 7

TRADE and Industry Minister Richard Hu today took over the key finance portfolio, a move seen by the Singapore business community as heralding a more liberal monetary and financial policy.

ancial policy.

Mr Hu, 58, former head of the Shell Group of Companies here, switched jobs with Tony Tan in the first Cabinet reshuffle by Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew since elections five

months ago.

Mr Hu will continue to be the chairman of the Monetary Authority of Singapore (MAS) which controls all the financial and banking activities on the island.

He is expected to play a leading role in plans to convert some of the 450 government companies into private enterprises, official sources said.

Latest available figures said the paid-up capital of these companies at the end of 1983 was \$\$2.4 billion with fixed assets estimated at \$\$18.2 billion.

Another major move expected during Mr Hu's term of office is a possible liberalisation in management of the Central Provident Fund (CPF), the sources said.

The CPF, a compulsory old age savings scheme, has more than \$\$20 billion and is under strict government control.

Mr Hu said in a recent newspaper interview the government was also planning to allow foreign brokers to trade directly on the local stock exchange floor and make it easier for foreign companies to be listed.

He indicated that an unlisted securities market could be established for small companies unable to meet stock exchange listing requirements.—Reuter

COLUMNIST BLASTS U.S. IMPORT STANCE

Bangkok BAN MUANG in Thai 11 May 85 p 5

[Ta Mo La column: "The Future of Exports, No Shore In Sight"]

[Excerpts] I sympathize with Mr Koson Krairuk, the minister of commerce, Thailand's "salesman." It is now much more difficult to sell goods than it used to be, and it is becoming more difficult all the time.

The governments of the countries to which agricultural and industrial goods are sold have implemented various measures to block the import of goods. The countries that want to purchase goods do not have any money, and the counries that have money to make purchases have blocked the import of goods since foreign goods compete with domestic goods. Since they cannot compete with us, they have done everything posible to prevent us from selling our goods there. Otherwise, they could not sell their goods.

We export huge quantities of chicken, shrimp, oysters, fish, pork, canned food and ready-made clothing. These countries have looked for ways to keep our goods out. What is painful is that they can take such measures against us and we have no way to retaliate. Why is this?

This is true of the United States, our "close friend," the European countries, our "old friends," Japan, "a major creditor," and even ASEAN. We cannot really criticize them since they are experiencing similar problems. They have to protect their own interests. What is painful is that we can't protect our interests like they do theirs. With the market situation like it is today, the outlook for exporting produce and finished products looks very dismal. In the end, we will have to "gnaw on our own bones." I think that marketing plans must be made as if opening a new era. That is, we must resolutely implement a "politics leads trade" plan.

Looking at our old markets, the United States is our leargest market. Today, we are allowing the United States to "call the shots." The United States uses Thailand to protect its security in this region. We

serve as the frontline for the United States in opposing Soviet pressure in this region. What does the United States do for us in return? The United States is squeezing our economy by blocking the export of Thai goods to the United States. It is doing this with no thought of the obligations that we have to each other. How can we have dealings with each other?

Prem should "attack" the White House and "seize" Reagan. After "seizing" the United States, it would be easy to deal with Europe. As for Japan, the only thing that needs to be said is that we must be fully prepared if we are to "catch" Japan. If the ASEAN countries cooperate with each other and work together, we can get the best of Japan.

11943

COLUMNIST VIEWS U.S. IN PHILIPPINES, BALANCE OF POWER

Bangkok DAO SIAM in Thai 27 May 85 p 2

[Penetrate the World column by Anthaphon Na Bangchang: "The Balance of Power In the Pacific"]

[Excerpts] The important thing is that the future of the U.S. military bases in the Philippines is beginning to look very bleak because of the instability of the Marcos government and the strength of the communist guerrillas in that country. The position of the U.S. bases has become very weak. Regardless of whether the government in the Philippines changes or there are ideological reasons, the U.S. bases will probably have to be moved. This is desired by the people in the country and will almost certainly take place. The U.S. government is greatly troubled by this matter.

Turmoil in the Philippines, a change in the government or a communist victory over the government would lead to the closure of both U.S. military bases there. At present, the United States is giving the Marcos government much financial aid in exchange for the use of these bases. If Marcos is toppled, the U.S. bases will fall, too. Another worrisome matter is that the ASEAN countries are considering making this a nuclear-free zone.

The balance of power in Asia and the Pacific depends on the United States maintaining control of the bases at Subic and Clark in order to counter the [Soviet] base at Cam Ranh in Vietnam. Looking at things in an unbiased way, if the United States has to withdraw from the Philippines, there will be an imbalance in this region. Without a U.S. presence here, the Soviet Union will be able to invade the region quite easily.

In the political game, when there is a balance of power, neither side can take strong action. But if one side stumbles and the balance of power shifts to the other side, that side becomes "lord." The United States is unsure about the future of its bases in the Philippines. Its lease on these bases will expire in 1991, and the lease will probably not be renewed.

The United States will also have to make a decision about the 18,000 [rai] on Saipan and Tinian in the Mariana Islands. The United States has recently suffered important strategic defeats. For example, New Zealand, an old ally, recently took an anti-nuclear postion, and this has caused problems for the U.S. 7th Fleet in the Pacific.

The United States will probably have to get out of the Philippines since the future of Marcos looks rather bleak. The question is whether the United States will be able to find someone to replace Marcos and whether it will be able to get along with those who succeed in gaining political power in the Philippines.

The future is always uncertain. But Soviet expansion is more definite. Thus, maintaining the balance of power in this region is very important. If we were the Philippines, we would not like to be the target because of having U.S. bases on our soil in the event of war. The only way out for the United States is to build new and even bigger bases somewhere else.

11943

COLUMNIST URGES CONTINUED ANTI-SRV GUERRILLA WAR

Bangkok DAO SIAM in Thai 28 May 85 p 2

[Small World column by Kanching: "The Cambodian War"]

[Text] The Cambodian problem has been troubling everyone for 8 years now, and there is still no sign that Vietnam will withdraw its forces from Cambodia. There is probably only one way to restore power to the Cambodian people and that is to use force.

Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the leader of the Anti-Vietnamese Khmer coalition, said that the Khmer resistance forces have adequate food, weapons and funds to carry on the struggle even if they cannot win a decisive victory. This means that they will continue to fight even if there does not seem to be any way to win. Fighting for one's country is the right thing to do, isn't it? Vietnam has refused to negotiate seriously and continues to occupy the country. If we were in that position, we would fight, too, wouldn't we?

Using peaceful methods is not the way to solve this problem. Negotiations and unilateral agreements will not bring any progress. This will just give Vietnam time to consolidate its position in Cambodia. Negotiating for 8 years or 20 years will not bring progress. Prince Sihanouk said that his forces have now established bases near the Tonle Sap and within 30 km of Phnom Penh. Waging a guerrilla war is probably the most effective way to fight on a battlefield with which you are familiar. In the Vietnam War, the Vietnamese used this method to defeat a giant. And so the Vietnamese should be given a taste of this type of war.

It was China that originated this type of fighting and that trained the Vietnamese, which enabled them to liberate their country from the French. China should teach these tricks to the Cambodians so that they can [liberate] their country.

Prince Sihanouk says that the Khmer coalition now has approximately 73,000 troops composed of 50,000 Khmer Rouge troops, 13,000 Khmer Serei troops and 10,000 Sihanouk troops. Vietnam has approximately 100,000 troops [in Cambodia], over 20,000 more than the Khmer resistance. If

other countries in this region provide good support, it should not be difficult to defeat the Vietnamese. The United States and China can be used to counterbalance the Soviet Union. If the smaller countries are then allowed to fight it out, Vietnam will lose. The Khmer coalition has good combat morale and strong nationalist ideals. Do not become discouraged by defeats. At present, the Cambodians are losing. They ar losing because their country has been occupied. No matter how many defeats we suffer for our country, we still have honor.

Vietnam knows the taste of being occupied by another country. After winning peace in Vietnam, why did it have to bother others? They shouldn't feel too good about having defeated an "elephant" since they could be defeated by a small "ant."

11943

AIDS SCARES MALAY, SINGAPOREAN TOURISTS FROM SOUTH

Bangkok MATICHON in Thai 20 May 85 pp 1, 16

[Article: "Malaysia Plays Up News Reports"]

[Text] On 19 May, Mr Thawichat Phonnitcha, the owner and manager of the Thawichat Tourist Company Ltd, a tour company in songental Province, told MATICHON that the number of tourists from Malaysia and Singapore has declined greatly since Malaysian and Singaporean newspapers have been printing stories about AIDS. The reports state that this disease is spreading in Thailand. Newspapers in Kuala Lumpur publish stories on this every day. Last week, he went and contacted tour companies in Kuala Lumpur. Almost all the companies that he contacted asked him about this. They expressed great concern about this. A Singaporean friend told him that girls and wives in Singapore are very alarmed about this. They have forbidden their husbands from traveling to Hat Yai. They threaten to divorce them if they go. And they are hiding their passports.

"At present, my business is down 60 percent, and the same is true for other tour companies in Hat Yai. Companies are having to make more frequent trips abroad to find custmoers. Also, prices are being slashed in order to bolster the position of the companies," said Mr Thawichat.

Mrs Sumana Saenyasiri, an official with the Holiday Tour Company, said that the reports on AIDS are a major problem. Because of these reports, the number of tourists has declined markedly. At present, most of the people coming to Hat Yai are businessmen. Very few tourists are coming.

Mrs Sumana also said that Thai girls who went to Singapore to work and who have now returned told her that there is little work in Singapore now since Singaporeans are very afraid of AIDS. No one dares to go out with the Thai girls working there. There have been reports that three Singaporeans have contracted this disease. These girls said that on previous occasions, they earned 70,000-8,000 baht. But this time, they brought back only 20,000-30,000 baht.

Mr Banyat Banthatthan, the minister attached to the Office of the Prime Minister, told MATICHON that Malaysian and Singaporean newspapers have been publishing sensational stories about AIDS for several months now. The stories state that AIDS is spreading in Thailand. It is very distressing that the mass media in neighboring countries is attacking Thailand like this. The governments of the ASEAN countries are trying to cooperate in order to promote tourism in this region.

Mr Banyat said that this matter was discussed at a conference held by ASEAN tour groups in Bangkok last April. They agreed to try to prevent the appearance of stories that might have a negative impact on tourism in this region.

Thailand, about which damaging stories are frequently printed, is unhappy about this. It is unfortunate that such stories are being printed again. The minister of public health has to warn the public about this disease since this is a very serious disease for which there is no cure. But when vague stories are published, this just damages tourism.

Mr Banyat said that as for clarifying things for Singaporean and Malaysian tourists, everytime such stories appear, Thai officials, including diplomatic officials and officials from the Tourist Organization of Thailand, who are stationed in those countries try to clarify the situation for the tour companies there. Things should improve very soon since there have been no cases of this disease in Thailand. People just became alarmed about this, and the foreign mass media, which is owned by private individuals, took this opportunity to attack us.

A reporter reported that in its 14 May issue, the Malaysian newspaper SINGMIN YOE PAO printed a story stating that five Thais had come down with AIDS. This story was printed on the front page. It cited reports from the Bornama News Agency, the Malaysian government news agency, and the German News Agency in Bangkok. This news has greatly alarmed the tourist industry in Songkhla Province. There are fears that tourism in Hat Yai will remain depressed for a long time.

HEALTH OFFICIALS QUASH FILM ON SISAKET HUNGER

Bangkok THAI RAT in Thai 29 May 85 pp 1, 20

[Article]

[Excerpt] The "For Our Hungry Brothers" program of the Children's Development Foundation is making a great effort to collect money for the lunch fund for children who do not have enough to eat. The program has shown pictures of children who are so hungry that they have had to eat dirt and reptiles instead of rice to keep themselves alive. The pictures show extremely emaciated children without a spark of hope in their eyes. While teachers have students copy the phrase "things are very good in Thailand, with fish in the rivers and rice in the fields," these children have added "but in my locality, there is great hunger." Such pictures have been shown on Television Channel 3 every day.

On 28 May, a reporter was informed that this program is now having problems showing these pictures on television. The Department of Health, Ministry of Public Health, feels that showing such pictures harms Thailand's image, particularly the image of Thai children. The ministry feels that this may result in foreigners and others mistakenly thinking that large numbers of Thai children lack sufficient food. At a meeting last week, the Department of Health issued a resolution to ask the Radio and Television Administrative Committee to quash this film for the sake of Thailand's image and the image of our children.

Mrs Sisawang Phuawongphaet, the vice president of the Children's Development Foundation and the director of the "For Our Hungry Brothers" program, told reporters that the foundation knew in advance that the Department of Health would consider this harmful to Thailand's image and so people were asked to consider this matter. The foundation held a meeting and sent a letter to the Department of Health explaining the objectives of this film. "We wanted to present different views. The basic data may differ. We have done things based on the facts."

"We are very pleased because we have achieved our objectives. We will continue to carry on activities until malnutrition among Thai children is a thing of the past," said the vice president of this foundation. She also said that at present, half of the children in Thailand, particularly in the northeast, are in the same situation as those shown in the film.

A news report stated that the Department of Health was very concerned about the pictures of children eating dirt. It does not believe that such children are representative of Thai children in general. It feels that such pictures may cause others to misunderstand things. Besides this, this film has been shown in the United States in order to get Thais living in the United States to donate money. It is feared that this will upset the various units that support Thailand on public health matters and that they will stop providing funds.

Mr Prakit Aphisanthanarak, the managing director of the Prakit Associates Company, said that his company produced this film as requested by the Children's Development Foundation. This was done for the benefit of society. Each year, the company cooperates with Television Channel 3 in [putting on] this social affairs program. The data and facts were studied carefully. The film was based on factual data. Nothing was made up or exaggerated. The film was made in Sisaket Province. Hunger is widespread among children there, as shown in the film.

As for showing such films, Mr Prakit said that he would like to ask people in general how they feel about this. It was his company that made the film. But this was a true story. If people refuse to accept the truth, nothing can be done to help. We must accept the fact that Thailand has many poor people while a few people live in luxury. If we can save just 1 baht a day, much can be done to help these children.

#### MALAYSIAN CHINESE HEAVILY INVOLVED IN SONGKHLA ECONOMY

Bangkok MATICHON in Thai 22 May 85 pp 1, 16

[Article: "Financiers From Malaysia"]

[Excerpt] Mr Withaya Saelim, the president of the Songkhla Provincial Tour Association, told MATICHON that at present, more and more Malaysian Chinese are secretaely investing in business ventures in Hat Yai District. This is because Malaysia has a law that prohibits Chinese from holding rights to real property. Besides this, Chinese who operate large businesses must allow Malays to hold 30 percent of the shares, mostly as silent partners. In some states, officials collect very high taxes. Thus, Malaysian Chinese have begun carrying on business activities in Hat Yai District and in border towns in Thailand. They let Thais be silent partners and manage things. However, the choose only close friends whom they have known for a long time and whom they can trust.

Mr Withaya said that the Malaysian Chinese like to invest in hotels, restaurants, tour companies, bars, nightclubs, brothels and unregistered tour companies since these are businesses that serve Malaysian tourists. They can serve people from their own country. And they can earn huge profits.

One customs official in Songkhla Province told MATICHON that after making a lot of money, these businessmen smuggle the money into Malaysia posing as tourists. Or they entrust the money to local "phoi kuan" groups, who pose as operators of tour companies, foreign currency exchange shops and gift shops. Last month alone, a huge sum of money was smuggled out of the country. In particular, officials at the Hat Yai airport have frequently made arrests. Thus, many of these recople have switched to transporting money by vehicle, entrusting it to tour groups.

## GOVERNOR TRADES BORDER VIOLATION CHARGES WITH LAOS

Bangkok DAILY NEWS in Thai 25 May 85 pp 1, 2

[Article: "Report Sent to Have Thai Embassy File Protest"]

[Text] The governor of Nong Khai Province has disputed the charges made by the Lao Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Voice of Laos Radio. They charged that sailors from a Thai patrol boat that operates in the Mekong River robbed a Lao farmer and tried to rape a girl. The governor said that this was not true and that Lao officials have been harassing Thai soldiers. They sent 10 longboats to the Thai side. He has asked the Thai ambazsador in Vientiane to submit a protest to the Lao government.

The Lao Ministry of Foreign Affairs submitted a protest to the Thai ambassador in Vientiane charging that Thai patrol boats that operate in the Mekong River have harassed Lao officials. Besides this, the Lao K.P.L. Information Office and Voice of Laos Radio issued reports charging that two Thai sailors from a Mekong River patrol boat robbed a Lao farmer at Ban Hom and tried to rape a Lao girl, as was reported by DAILY NEWS.

A news report stated that at 1430 hours on 24 May, Mr Sakda Aphong, the governor of Nong Khai Province, issued a statement to the mass media. He said that the charges made by Laos are false. Actually, it was Laos that caused the trouble. Lao government officials harassed Thai MROU [Mekong River Operations Unit] boats using 10 longboats and paddle boats. They claimed that they were going to fish in the Mekong River. But they entered Thai waters near Hua Don Taeng, or Don Noi, and Ban Thamafuang in Phonpha Subdistrict, Tha Bo District, Nong Khai Province. Two MROU boats signaled them to return to the Lao side at Ban Hom in Hatsaifong District, Vientiane Province.

A DAILY NEWS reporter in Nong Khai Province obtained information on this from officials, kaimans and village headmen who had witnessed this. They told him that at 1300 hours on 21 May, two assault boats left the Si Chiang Mai MROU base, which is commanded by Cpt Sompho Ridiwet, to patrol the Mekong River on Thailand's side. They saw two

longboats leave the Thai side and head toward the Lao side. The MROU boats intercepted these two boats and found that they were carrying Samit 14, Krungthong 85 and Saifon cigarettes worth 10,000 bahr. Thus, they arrested the men and seized the two boats for further handling of the case. At 1700 hours on 22 May, 10 longboats and paddle boats, with 3 Lao officials in each boat, entered Thailand's territorial waters near Ban Hua Don Taeng, which belongs to Thailand. MROU boats saw this and went to intercept them. They signaled them to return to the Lao side.

Mr Sakda Aphong, the governor of Nong Khai Province, said that he reported this to Mr Somphong Faichampa, the Thai ambassador in Vientiane, so that he could submit a protest to the Lao government.

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EDITORIAL VIEWS F-16 PURCHASE

Bangkok BAN MUANG in Thai 22 May 85 p 4

[Editorial: "Debt and Security"]

[Text] People are still talking about the fact that if the air force purchases F16 aircraft, this will create a huge debt for the country and people, who are still burdened by old debts that total 300 billion baht. Also, the country's economic situation has been very bad for several consecutive years now and no one knows when things will improve. Is increasing the debt by another 10 billion baht in order to purchase these F16 aircraft really the proper thing to do at the present time?

Certainly, if we consider the need to protect our sovereignty and defend the country from attack by outside enemies—and we all know who that is—having modern weapons will be of great comfort to the military, which is directly responsible [for defending the country], and to people in general. We have been attacked and our sovereignty has been violated many times now. Even though we have been able to drive the enemy out of the country, this has taken time and cost us dearly in terms of resources and the lives of soldiers and civilians.

Thus, procuring modern weapons for the military is something that cannot be put off. Increasing the debt by another 10 billion baht is a minor matter when compared with the security of the country. Because as long as the nation survives, it will be possible to find ways to pay off that huge debt. But if the nation falls, being free of debt will be meaningless.

The air force has the firm intention of procuring modern and highly efficient aircraft equal to those used by the enemy. And actually, we need to have better and larger number [of aircraft] than the enemy. The air force's development funds, which amount to more than 1 billion baht a year, will be used. The P16 will not be purchased on installment. The purchase of these aircraft will not bother the government's central budget. But even so, the government will still have to allot special funds to help with certain things resulting from the purchase of the F16 aircraft. The Ministry of Finance and the Budget Bureau are very concerned about this.

The purchase of F16 aircraft has been approved by the air force and must now be submitted to the minister of defense for final approval. The Ministry of Finance and the Budget Bureau have opposed this because they have a responsibility to the country just like the air force. The minister of defense is the one who must decide what to do since he is better informed about things in the military than others. And in his capacity as the prime minister, he knows what should be done based on our financial position.

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#### COLUMNIST VIEWS SRV-DK FIGHTING IN TRAT

Bangkok DAO SIAM in Thai 28 May 85 pp 6, 11

[Behind the Problems and News column by Yutthaphum Khamla: "Operations At 'Thammoda," What Is Vietnam Planning for the Banthat Mountains?"]

[Excerpts] "The sound of guns indicates that the fighting is still going on there and that the area has still not been cleared even though our forces have forced the 800 Vietnamese troops out of Ban Chamrat in Muang District, Trat Province. The fighting began on 20 April and has been heavy at times," said a marine about the general situation in Chamrat, the battlefield in Trat Province. The Chanthaburi-Trat Force is responsible for keeping invaders out of this part of the country.

Chamrat is located in Muang District, Trat Province, approximately 35 km from Trat City. The sound of the guns can be heard in Trat City. This is the first time that fighting has raged so close to the city.

The fighting at Chamrat began when approximately two battalions of Vietnamese troops from Phailin moved into the area. There is a Khmer Rouge refugee camp near there in the Banthat Mountains, which form the border between Thailand and Cambodia. The Vietnamese troops first attacked the Khmer Rouge refugee camp. These refugee camps are usually located right near the Thai border. When Vietnamese forces approach from the east or some other direction, the refugees flee west into Thailand, which is a safe zone for them. This time, the Khmer Rouge again fled into Thailand. The Vietnamese pursued them and violated Thai sovereignty. Thai marines and "White Shark" thahan phran irregulars went to intercept the Vietnamese forces and prevent them from coming into Thailand. During the initial clash, 8 of our men were killed and about 60 were wounded. These were large losses for the marines and Chanthaburi-Trat Force. There had never been such a fierce battle before.

The Vietnamese carried out this operation just as they did the time they attacked Phra Phalai Pass and Ban Tatum, the refugee camp of Sihanouk's supporters in Surin.

The Khmer Rouge forces formed small guerrilla units to confront the Vietnamese. The two Vietnamese battalions seized the Khmer Rouge camp. They destroyed everything except the food supplies, which the Vietnamese kept for their own use. Approximately one battalion of Vietnamese troops crossed the single remaining ridge and entered Thailand in order to establish a line to control the entire ridge.

Following that, the clashes between the Vietnamese forces and Thai marines, thahan phran irregulars and Border Patrol Police became more fierce. We had to expel the Vietnamese battalion from the Banthat mountains inside Thailand in order to force them back across the ridge into Cambodia. At first, the marine artillery regiment fired at positions taken by the Vietnamese troops. But after firing approximately 1,000 rounds, the Vietnamese still held the positions and so air support had to be called in. F5-E aircraft from Group 4 at Takhli and Group 1 at Nakhon Ratchasima dropped a large number of bombs at Chamrat.

The bombing attack forced the Vietnamese to move their forces to another ridge, but the two forces still confronted each other. That is, the Vietnamese combat front was only about 200 meters from the Banthat ridge and from the Thai border, within range of small-arms fire. But it doesn't matter how far away from the border they are as long as they are not inside Thai territory.

The area occupied by the Vietnamese has still not been cleared completely since the Vietnamese mined the area with many anti-personnel and anti-tank mines. About 50 mines have been removed so far, and there are probably many more. While our forces worked to clear the area, the Vietnamese continued to send forces to the ridge to fire at and harass our reconnaissance units.

Thus, the marines have had to move forces to the top of the hills in order to control the area. That is, they have occupied the entire Banthat ridge and set up as heavy weapons as could be brought up. Artillery bases of the marine artillery regiment have been set up in the subdistrict to provide fire support and at the foot of the mountains since the artillery cannot be transported to the mountain ridges. The forces taking part in this action include the 2nd and 3rd marine battalions, the "White Shark" thahan phran irregulars and BPP officials from the Region 2 BPP Precinct.

These people live at the front. If there is another clash, it will be a hand-to-hand fight since the two forces are very close to each other. A large Vietnamese base, known as the Thamoda base, is located only 8 km from Chamrat. The 34th Border [Security] Regiment is stationed there. This regiment is supported by tanks and artillery. This is like a section of the Banthat mountains where we have tanks, armored vehicles and artillelry to provide support. As for the radius of fire of the artillery, a marine said that we can hit Thamoda, and

their artillery can hit our positions if it should become necessary to engage in an artillery duel across the Banthat mountains.

It is worth watching to see if the Vietnamese reinforce their forces at Thamoda since they may be planning to launch an offensive. Another clash at Chamrat is likely. The marines have learned that the assembly of these forces is part of the Bua Ban operations plan to eradicate the Khmer Rouge in this region. The attacks on the estern mountain ridge are aimed at enabling Vietnamese forces to use Thai territory as a forward base from which to drive the Cambodians into Cambodia, where they can then smash them easily just as at Ban Tatum. In that operation, Vietnamese troops first crossed into Thailand and then drove the Cambodians into Cambodia. Sihanouk's forces suffered heavy losses. The marines know that if the Vietnamese use Thai territory as a forward base from which to drive the Cambodians back into Cambodia, they will use at least two points.

The situation in Trat Province is still rather unstable. An offensive could be launched from Thamoda at any time. Even the Vietnamese aren't sure about this. Because at present, operations in the Banthat mountains are continuing. Vietnamese forces are still clinging tightly to the ridges. At the same time, our soldiers, police officials and thahan phran irregulars are risking their lives to defend the Banthat ridge and not retreat an inch.

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LHALLAND

MULTINATIONALS BLAMED FOR GAS SHORTFALL

Bangkok MATICHON in Thai 10-16 Apr 85 pp 12-16

[Article: "Where Has the Gas Gone?"]

[Text] Three years ago, Gen Prem Tinsulanon, the prime minister, declared a "Period of Progress" resulting from the discovery of commercial oil and natural gas wells in Thailand. At that time, Thailand seemed to enter into an era of prosperity because "there is fish in the water, rice in the fields and gas in the Gulf."

But time has proved that this route is not as beautiful as the government bragged. Rather, far worse than that, the "Period of Progress" has turned out to be poisonous with a bad impact and has devoured the Thai economy because the massive benefits from our resources have fallen into the hands of only a few foreign companies.

I would like to study the single case of the Union Oil Company in this article. Union Oil Company claims that proved reserves of natural gas in the Gulf of Thailand at the Erawan Site are less than estimated initially so that in the end, the Thai government has had to accept new figures for proved reserves and it has had to agree to refund to Union Oil Company penalty fees for delivering inadequate supplies of gas to the Petroleum Authority of Thailand, in line with contracts for 1981-1983. This has resulted in the government now being threatened by requests for refunds of government taxes. If the government refuses to refund government taxes to Union Oil, the company will take the matter to the International Court and that will damage the investment climate in Thailand.

The thing that will be stressed in this article is the crucial point of the credibility of the figures for estimated reserves of natural gas that Union Oil claims are valid, or that the Thai government has already fallen into a foreign trap. [We will do this] by comparing case studies of the gas and petroleum industries in the United States, which is the leading gas country and which has had a lot of identical controversies about the validity of proved reserves of natural gas stemming from the use of dirty schemes by the giant multinational oil companies.

Behind the Petroleum Authority of Thailand - Union Oil Controversy

The Union Oil Company of Thailand is a subsidiary of the Union Oil Company of California, which is the 16th largest major multinational United States company, with net assets of more than \$6 billion. Union Oil received a survey concession from the Thai government for the first time in 1968. Later in 1972, Union Oil succeeded in discovering natural gas in Blocks 12 - 13, which are known as the Erawan Site. This was the first discovery of natural gas in the Gulf of Thailand. In addition, Union Oil later succeeded in discovering natural gas and liquid petroleum at a total of six other sites.

From 1981 management estimates of natural gas reserves within Union Oil's concession zone — which hired the American firm Degolyer and MacNaughton, its regular consulting firm, to survey it — it was confirmed that the Erawan Site alone has proved reserves of 1.58 trillion cubic feet and probable reserves of .215 trillion cubic feet. Consequently, the Erawan Site has reserves of at least 1.795 trillion cubic feet. As for the other seven sites, the total proved reserves of gas in Union Oil's concession were reported and confirmed to be at least 8.810 trillion cubic feet.

After negotiating and bargaining for many years, the Thai government agreed to draw up a natural gas contract with Union Oil on 28 September 1978, which stipulated that the Thai government through the Petroleum Authority of Thailand will be the purchaser of the gas from the Erawan Site at a wellhead price of \$1.04 per 1,000 cubic feet.

Nevertheless, the wellhead selling price of the natural gas is not a fixed price because it was stipulated in the contract that Union Oil has the right to propose adjustments in the price every year. The formula for adjusting the selling price of the Erawan Site natural gas depends on the price and four-component price index:

- 1. the average wholesale price in Thailand;
- 2. the average export price in the United States;
- 3. the average Singapore market price for diesel fuel;
- 4. the average exchange rate for the Thai bagt against the U.S. dollar,

Therefore, when Union Oil produced gas for sale to the Petroleum Authority of Thailand for the first time on 12 September 1981, the wellhead selling price shot up to \$2.20 per 1,000 cubic feet or an increase of more than 100 percent over the price agreed to in 1978.

Union Oil Cheated on Contract

Since the initial period of production of natural gas at the Erawan Site, Union Oil has never delivered — not even a single day — the contracted amount to the Petroleum Authority of Thailand. According to the contract, Union Oil was required to start producing gas to supply the Petroleum Authority of Thailand with 200 million cubic feet per day in 1981, increasing to 250 million cubic feet per day in 1982. But in reality, Union Oil was

able to produce much less gas than agreed in the contract, 70 trillion cubic feet in 1981, approximately 120 trillion cubic feet in 1982 and approximately 150 trillion cubic feet in 1983. This made a [government plan for substituting] natural gas [for oil] flop; the government had hoped to replace diesel oil at the Bang Pakong Generating Plant and had borrowed 1,500 million baht, with the result that the production costs for generating electricity rose additionally by approximately 15 million baht per day — approximately 5 billion baht yearly — because the government had to import crude oil to use as a substitute fuel in order to continue generating electricity. And the dream of industrial projects along the eastern shore that are expected to depend on domestic natural gas for fuel and raw materials then collapsed or was delayed for a while. The damage to the Thai economy has been tremendous.

## Starting the Advantageous Gas Price Hike Game

In the beginning, the Thai government did not penalize the Union Oil at all when the company violated its contractual agreements. Instead, it begged the company for cooperation to install additional gas drilling platforms to increase the rate of gas production to the full amount agreed to in the contracts. But Union Oil stalled for a while and exerted more pressures on the government to allow an increase in the gas price again around the middle of 1982, claiming that adding the drilling platforms that the government had requested was very difficult due to a more complex geological structure than anticipated. [Union Oil said that] if additional drilling platforms had to be added, then expensive modern equipment had to be used for which the investment is very high so that production costs for the Erawan Site unavoidable had to go higher.

When the government refused to allow Union Oil to adjust the price as it had requested, Union Oil continued to use the same nagging tricks and stalled adding drilling platforms. Finally the government had no other choice than to penalize Union Oil for violating the delivery contracts for the gas (which should have been done since the start) by having the Petroleum Authority of Thailand use a method of adjusting compensation by paying only 80 percent of the wellhead selling price of the gas. This displeased Union Oil very much and Union Oil constantly looked for ways to get its fines back.

#### Proved Gas Reserves Suddenly Shrink?

Under these circumstances, toward the end of 1982 Union Oil suddenly informed the Thai government that the volume of proved reserves of natural gas at the Erawan Site had decreased to or was at almost 3 times less than estimated. Union Oil tried to cajole persons in the government responsible for the petroleum business to accept its new figures for proved reserves. At the same time, Union Oil drummed up ways to make the government agree to return the penalties that the Petroleum Authority of Thailand had collected by spreading rumors through the mass media domestically and internationally, especially through American business magazines that are the mouthpieces for all multinational companies.

To make cause and effect correspond, Union Oil started to spread rumors that the fact that gas production at the Erawan Site was smaller than agreed to in the contracts actually was not the mistake of the company at all but due to the realities of Mother Nature because the volume of proved reserves of natural gas at the Erawan Site was smaller than estimated and that this was a natural matter that the company could not help. Therefore, Union Oil should not be penalized even a cent.

Thai Government Strong Outside, Weak Inside

The Thai government's attitude in the beginning seemed to be tough and aggressive because it stood firm and refused to accept the reduced volume of proved reserves of natural gas that the company claimed. Later, during the beginning of 1983, Union Oil pulled in Degolyer and MacNaughton, its regular business consultant, to once more do a survey of the volume of proved reserves of natural gas, hinting that it was expressing its good faith and also urging the Thai government to accept its new figures for the volume of proved reserves.

The survey was conducted for many months. Later, Degolyer and MacNaughton announced that the results of the survey confirmed Union Oil's claim that proved reserves should be reduced to only 0.632 trillion cubic feet from the former 1.58 trillion cubic feet, which is almost 300 percent less.

Finally, the Thai government started to weaken and agreed quietly to refund billions of baht in penalty fees to Union Oil. Moreover, it agreed to once more allow a price increase for gas because the government accepted that our proved reserves of gas had decreased, so the production cost per unit surely ought to be higher as the company claimed. It is noteworthy that after Union Oil was able to steal this victory, it happened that gas production at the Erawan Site increased rapidly, even more than projected, just like magic.

The controversy between the Thai government and Union Oil in fact did not end just there; on the contrary, when the company was able to accomplish its first aggressive move, it started the second stage of aggression against the government by demanding and pressing it for a refund of fees due the government that the company had paid to it as compensation, claiming that during the period that the company did not produce enough gas to supply the Petroleum Authority of Thailand, the government had collected taxes higher than the company should have paid. The company threatened the government that if employing a soft line did not work, it would use a tough line by filing a complaint with the International Court. This problem and the request for more price increases have not been settled up to the present. But with all these facts we can know the answer: that it will be a happy ending as always. If you do not believe it, just wait and see.

Proved Reserves Figures: 011 Companies' Scheme

The government's continuing belief to the present in the practice of concessions has opened a gap for concession holders to own everything in their particular concession zones. When they succeed in discovering gas or

oil, these resources, which are truly national assets, become the legal properties of foreign companies. Figures related to proved reserves as well as actual production costs are all company confidential; even the Thai government does not have the right to know them, except to wait for reports handed out by the company. Surely these figures have undergone dressing until it is certain that they benefit the company alone; then they are passed on for scrutiny to the government and the public.

Therefore, how can we believe that the figures assessed for proved reserves of gas that Union Oil and Degolyer and MacNaughton together announced are exact, impartial and acceptable when the history of the international gas and oil industry teaches and makes us understand that the proved reserves figures for natural gas and oil have become tools for developing justifications for the oil companies in demanding selling price increases or free exporting? So it is not surprising that figures for proved reserves are usually as elastic as the company chooses them to be in order to make them appropriate for any given situation. All this [is done] in order to achieve the objective of seeking the highest profit.

We do not have to look far [for relevant examples]; just think back: is it not rather strange that while Union Oil argued vehemently that proved reserves are three times less [than originally indicated], another incident occurred during that period, namely, that Union Oil squeezed the government to agree to let it increase the price of gas and to refund penalty fees to it...

Conversely, when the old standby Degolyer and MacNaughton assessed the proved reserves of gas in the Texas Pacific Company concession at only 5.8 trillion cubic feet, the Texas Pacific Company argued vehemently and stood firm that its proved reserves of gas in the Gulf of Thailand are much higher — as high as 7.2 trillion cubic feet. The reason for this argument is that Texas Pacific Company tried to export gas for distribution overseas freely so it claimed that the Gulf of Thailand has huge amounts of gas. Who should we believe?

## Definition of "Proved Reserves"

Actually, petroleum reserves for which there is definite proof -- or which in English are called "proved reserve" -- according to the definition of the internationally reputed Gas and Oil Industry Society of the United States means reserves of discovered petroleum that can be guaranteed directly from petroleum flow testing and from geological proof from drilling and which is ready for production for usage under existing prices and technology. Consequently, [the figures for] "proved reserve" are highly accurate, with a guaranteed [margin of] error of not more than 20 percent.

These facts make one wonder why Thailand's "proved reserves" -- regardless of whether they are at Union Oil or Texas Pacific sites -- which were surveyed by Degolyer and MacNaughton have been able to have elasticities of 100-300 percent. Perhaps it is because Degolyer and MacNaughton invented a new definition of the word "proved reserve" for use just in Thailand, in

which elasticity was between 100-300 percent or because Thailand's guardian spirit was protecting Thailand's exceedingly precious petroleum sites for their use by future Thai generations. Please think it over for yourself.

Follow the Leader: To National Ruin

The things that should be blamed are the obedient and easy going attitude of the persons in the Thailand zovernment who so blindly accept the data that foreigners spoonfeed them. Even though the government has regularly claimed that we lack knowledge, experience and technology in the petroleum industry, persons in the government should at least have the astuteness and presence of mind to be able to reflect that we should look for data from impartial sources for comparison in order to be certain and should not make mistakes so that tremendous amounts of national resources are lost.

There are thousands and thousands of firms in the world that survey and assess proved reserves, not only the regular business partners of Union Oil, such as the Degolyer and MacNaughton firm. Also, it was not necessary that the firm that came and did a second survey of the proved reserves be an American one. Neglecting this matter and not holding to the principle that the national interest is the main issue surely will bring disaster to the country, [in the same way that] we have been outdone by Union Oil right now.

Old Tricks from the Gulf of Mexico to the Gulf of Thailand

Actually, the schemes and dishonesty of the multinational oil companies are old tricks that have been dug out and circulated repeatedly for use from countries that have caught on to them to countries that are new to the petroleum industry. In one period, even the American government was victimized by the dirty schemes of all of these oil companies, as I will present for your comparison with incidents that are occurring in Thailand.

Figures concerning proved reserves of natural gas have been involved in important political controversies in the United States. The problem was that when most of the gas was produced intrastate, such as major offshore production in the Gulf of Mexico, the central government, which administers the country, in turn did not have any independent data at all concerning proved reserves of gas. On the contrary, the government had to rely on data provided by the Natural Cas Proved Reserves Board. This special board had the sole responsibility of regularly gathering and compiling the data fed to it by producing companies. Because of this, the national figures for proved reserves of natural gas disclosed by the Department of Natural Resources and the central government's Energy Board, including other governmental working units had to rely on data handed out by the oil companies.

Past history could be called the golden era for the oil companies because they were able to benefit tremendously from reports of lower than actual net reserves. Later in 1954, with the case of the Phillips Company, which was involved in businesses with the longest pipelines in the United States, the U.S. Supreme Court decided in favor of having the government control wellhead gas prices, namely, the prices that must be paid to all the multinational oil companies, which monopolize gas production through interstate gas pipeline companies

The concern of the government for controlling the selling price of gas made the oil companies put their heads together in response to seek ways to lift price controls by lobbying all congressmen and U.S. senators to draft legislation for lifting gas price controls. And worse than that, they also conspired to threaten that there would be a gas shortage if gas prices were fixed like this. To make their threats realistic, the oil companies collaborated in creating a crisis situation for natural gas by having the National Gas Association, which is composed fo oil companies that produce gas, issue a report to the central government's Energy Board in which it invented figures [that showed] proved reserves to be less than expected.

# Gas is Elastic

From the end of the 1960's to the mid 1970's, the government and Congress conducted many investigations and discovered solid evidence that the oil companies had reported lower than actual net volumes of proved reserves of natural gas in order to find a rationale for requesting price increases, such as in the 1960's when state utility industry economists reported to Congress that they had checked and discovered that many oil company production sites in the Gulf of Mexico just stopped production operations quietly in order to create a gas shortage.

In 1971, economists from the central government's Energy Board compiled a report that they were sure that many oil companies had declared proved reserves volumes as much as 40-50 percent below actual levels. Later, the central government and Congress cooperated to conduct factfinding investigations under the leadership of Congressman John Moss, chairman of the congressional Trade and Commerce Committee.

Congressman Moss discovered that the reported proved reserves figures of the Gas Association of the United States had been compiled by the order of a few multinational oil companies. These companies had hired survey firms and geologists who were already working for the Gas Association to come and help invent figures.

Under the questioning of Congressman Moss, these geologists admitted shamelessly that they had had to invent these proved reserved volume figures in line with what the multinational oil companies had ordered in exchange for a big lump sum of money. One geologist disclosed everything about one particular natural gas site where the proved reserves had been recorded as "O." This was not because this site did not contain any gas but because the oil company had not pointed out how to handle that gas site.

Some geologists testified that they used their own guessing methods for proved reserves. At some sites they did not even have to conduct a geological

survey; they only recorded figures that were close to those in miscellaneous news in business magazines and petroleum magazines in which the multinational oil companies had released fictional news to pave the way for them.

As a result of a 1974 terrain survey, Congressman Moss found one area surveyed where the oil companies had discovered more than 4 trillion cubic feet of proved reserves of natural gas, which had two production platforms and 13 drilled holes. However, [the company] had covered this up and refused to report it to officials for more than 2 years.

Mr Moss had made the report on just the one gas site that refused to report to officials. If all the proved reserves of gas were calculated collectively for the members of the Gas Association of the United States that year, the volume figure for the proved reserves of natural gas would have increased as much as 23 percent. Nevertheless, in that survey it developed that the oil companies had joined together to declare a fraudulent volume of proved reserves almost 10 trillion cubic feet smaller than the real one.

What Lesson, What Chapter?

Cliches from the gas industry in the United States suggest to us that the multinational oil companies are ready to invent any figures for proved reserves of gas or petroleum, high or low, as they wish, even in cheir own country. What is Thailand to them? It is not their homeland; how can it escape their filthy schemes?

This is the magical scene that the oil companies have toured around to show to various countries around the world for viewing. This expertise in shows combined with leaders who are so worshipful of foreigners and their system of slavery enables [multinational companies] to gleefully slit and hack up third world countries -- which include Thailand.

This is the numbingly painful lesson that Thailand must receive from all these multinational companies. As long as the persons who run our country refuse to hold the national interest and that of the majority as strong principles, these disgraceful lessons will appear endlessly.

12587

CSO: 4207/188

THAILAND

#### BRIEFS

THAIS IN KORAN READING -- Mr Chalong Kalayanmit, the director-general of the Department of Local Administration, said that Thailand will participate in the 16th international Koran reading contest to be held in Kuala Lumpur from 5-9 June 1985. It was invited by the Malaysian government. This is held every year. This year, the Ministry of Interior will send an 8-man team composed of Mr Chodok Wirathamphunsawat, the deputy director-general of the Department of Local Administration, who will represent the Ministry of Interior, Mr Loei Chanchak, the deputy director-general of the Department of Religious Affairs, who will serve as the leader of the team, Cpt Nikhom Alphat, the chief of the Coordination Division, Department of Local Administration, Mr Pradit Tharaphichatbut, the head of the Islamic Affairs Section, Coordination Division, Mr Winai Lama-un, a member of the Islamic Council of Thailand, who will represent the Head of the Islamic Faith in Thailand, Mr Awai Waibasu, the male reader of the Koran, Mrs Fatima Hatimadiyo, the female reader, and Mr Wanahmat Hussein Dato, a judicial affairs official with the Yala and Betong court, who will serve on the panel of judges. The director-general of the Department of Local Administration added that at the previous Koran reading contest, Thailand placed second in the male reading contest. This year, the Thai team will leave on 4 June and return on 10 June 1985. [Text] [Bangkok THAI RAT in Thai 13 May 85 pp 3, 2] 11943

PULO IN MALAYSIA--Bandit terrorists are trying to get Thais in Malaysia to hate Thai officials of Chinese extraction. It is thought that PULO will send people to the Middle East for religious studies. This will be a thorn in the side of the government in the future. Group Cpt Charan Patmasang, the representative of the General Border Office, Joint Operations Center, stated that during the past month, the number of operations carried out by PULO terrorists declined. However, they are still threatening people and demanding protection money from people in the area. At the same time, they are trying to get Thai Moslems who work in Malaysia to hate the Thai officials and Thai people of Chinese extraction who live in Betong District, Yala Province. Group Cpt CHaran said that PULO is sending members to the Middle East for religious studies. This will probably become a social and psychological problem for the government in the future. Militarily, PULO is not capable of attacking important targets. But it can still launch attacks against small targets and demand protection money. [Text] [Bangkok MATICHON in Thai 25 May 85 p 5] 11943

CSO: 4207/224

#### COALITION GOVERNMENT OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

# KPNLF OFFICIAL REBUTS ETHNIC ORIGIN QUESTION ON COMMANDER

Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English 3 Jun 85 p 4

[Text] Sir: In reference to the otherwise-superb article by Jacques Bekaert, entitled "KPNLF's new army C-in-C," published in the Bangkok Post on May 25, 1985, the Office of the Commander-in-Chief of the Khmer People's National Liberation Armed Forces would like to make the following rectifications:

- 1. KPNLAF Commander-in-Chief Gen Sak Sutsakhan does not have a "mixed Khmer and Laotian background" as the above-referred article claimed. The Commander-in-Chief is of Khmer descent and has 100 percent Khmer blood.
- 2. The KPNLAF Commander-in-Chief's spouse, Mrs Sak Sutsakhan, does not have "Vietnamese origin" as claimed by Jacques Bekaert. Mrs Sak Sutsakhan does not have one drop of Vietnamese blood in her anymore than her husband has a drop of Laotian blood in him.
- 3. The KPNLAF Commander-in-Chief and his spouse have no blood relation with Laotian or Vietnamese, and Gen Sak Susakhan has no personal, philosophical nor political outlook of an "Indochinese man." The only thing which may connect the General with Indochina is that Cambodia was a part of former French Indochina. But the General was one of the Khmer nationalists who fought for freedom and independence of Cambodia from French rule, and is a Khmer leader of the nationalist non-communist resistance fighting for freedom and independence of Cambodia from Vietnam's "Indochinese Federation" today.

The Office of the Commander-in-Chief of the Khmer People's National Liberation Armed Forces would highly appreciate your printing these rectifications in your prestigious newspaper for the benefit of your readers.

Dr Abdul Gaffar Peang-Meth Office of the Commander-in-Chief KPNLAF

#### COALITION GOVERNMENT OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

SIHANOUK INTERVIEWED ON KHMER ROUGE, ANTI-SRV STANCE

Madrid TIEMPO in Spanish 29 Apr 85 pp 140-141

[Interview with Norodom Sihanouk by Ahmad Rafat]

[Text] He came to the throne of Cambodia in 1951. In 1970 he was overthrown. After 5 years in exile, he returned to his country to lead Pol Pot's Khmer regime. Shortly afterwards he went into exile once again in Beijing. In 1979, after the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia, he returned once more to lead the resistance against the Phnom Penh regime.

Question: Phnom Penh's minister of foreign affairs, Hun Sen, said recently that, once the Pol Pot group has been eliminated from the coalition headed by Your Highness, everything can be worked out by means of negotiations and dialogue...

Answer: The Heng Samrin government has been a creature of the Vietnamese since the invasion of Cambodia in 1979. I don't believe that Heng Samrin, or his minister of foreign affairs, Hun Sen, can say anything that isn't dictated by Hanoi. And Hanoi will never give us a real and true independence. My people, the Khmer people, primarily want two things: independence and a noncommunist government. The Cambodians don't want communism, whether it is Pol Pot's style, Vietnamese or Chinese. So after that, what interest could I possibly have in negotiating or discussing matters with this government?

Question: Sometimes it is better to negotiate...

Answer: If I were to accept a reconciliation in these conditions, with Cambodia occupied by foreign forces, my people would consider me a traitor. And they would be right. Some western governments, France in particular, want to force us to accept the present situation and to sit down and talk with a puppet government. But we nationalists want a free Phnom Penh, where it will be possible to hold free and democratic elections under the control of the United Nations and other international institutions.

Question: What does Phnom Penh think about this?

Answer: I don't believe that the Vietnamese, with their 180,000 soldiers occupying Cambodia, will agree to this proposal. They say that the Khmer people are living better now and that it isn't necessary to hold elections at this time. Personally, I believe that only the people can choose their government. And as a Cambodian, I will respect Heng Samrin, Pol Pot, or Son Sann once they have been elected in free elections.

Question: So, do you mean that you won't agree to talk with the Phnom Penh and Hanoi leaders?

Answer: Last year I wrote three letters to the Vietnamese prime minister, Pham Van Dong, expressing my willingness to go to Hanoi to discuss my country's independence. As a prince, Norodom Sihanouk was prepared to sign a pact of friendship and cooperation between our countries, immediately after the withdrawal of the Vietnamese forces. The first two letters were never answered, and the third was returned to me stamped "not opened." The only thing left for us is armed combat.

Question: A short time ago the Vietnamese attacked guerrilla bases along the border with Thailand. One of these bases was Tatum, where there were troops loyal to you...

Answer: Until then, the Vietnamese had not attacked my bases, in order to arouse suspicions about a secret pact between them and myself, so that the other resistance groups would accuse me of serving as Hanoi's fifth column. Now they have changed their tactics and think that, by attacking our bases, they can force us to negotiate with them.

Question: What is the current military situation?

Answer: Ours is a guerrilla war, using sabotage and infiltration, supported by our people. Of course, the latest Vietnamese offensive caused us to lose some bases, but not men. Our troops have penetrated very deeply into the interior of the jungle. We will have to change our military tactics and not make the mistake of allowing ourselves to be trapped in a war of fixed positions.

Question: What is the real strength of the guerrillas?

Answer: There are 50,000 Khmer Rouge. The group formed by the former nationalist prime minister, Son Sann. amounts to 15,000 armed men. And my group, which is the newest in chronological terms, has only 5,000.

Question: In 1983 the Khmer Rouge had only 25,000 guerrillas, and now they have 50,000. How can you explain this growing support for a group which, like Pol Pot's, is responsible for the death of tens of thousands of Cambodians?

Answer: In Cambodia an entire generation has been orphaned. For today's 14 or 15-year-olds, it takes just a little indoctrination, a uniform, and a rifle to transform them into Khmer Rouge. History teaches us that time helps people to forget the past, even though this past may be filled with horror. Germany has forgotten Hitler, and the Cambodians want to forget Pol Pot. The responsibility for this rebirth of the Khmer Rouge lies with the Vietnamese; it is the logical outcome of the Vietnamization of Cambodia. Today over 600,000 Vietnamese are living in Cambodian territory. In the areas bordering Vietnam, you can't find a single Khmer peasant.

Question: But these people, the Khmer young people, have a choice: to fight the invader as a member of Prince Sihanouk's group or in Son Sann's group. So why do they choose to side with Pol Pot?

Answer: The answer to that is very simple; they have weapons. It is true that the Beijing government supports all the resistance groups, but the majority of its aid goes to the Khmer Rouge. Officially, the Chinese allocate their military material among the groups on an equitable basis, but we are sure that they secretly send more weapons to Pol Fot's group. The Beijing leaders explained to me that they distribute arms and financial aid based on the capabilities of each group. And I agree with them in this, as the Pol Pot guerrillas are better than the others. For example, the Son Sann men are mostly soldiers and officers who supported General Lon Nol, the author of the pro-U.S. coup in 1970. These are people without political experience, without convictions with a theoretical foundation. But on the other side, the young people in the Khmer Reouge have an ideology, and in the guerrilla movement that is an essential factor.

Question: Do you get aid only from the Chinese government?

Answer: Our primary source of aid is the Chinese government, but other countries also send us arms and support us in other ways: Thailand, Singapore, and Malaysia. Another group of countries—North Korea, the United States, Canada, and some European countries, including Spain—send us humanitarian aid. But all this isn't sufficient for a resistance that covers 35 percent of the Cambodian territory, with a population of over 300,000 inhabitants, and which has 70,000 guerrilla troops.

Question: Pol Pot is not responsible just for the slaughter of tens of thousands of Cambodians. He is also responsible for the death of five of your children.

Answer: Pol Pot, always Pol Pot! Westerners are always most interested in this man who belongs to the past, who is now seriously ill with malaria. To-day our problem is not the Khmer Rouge, but rather the Vietnamese soldiers who are occupying Cambodia. Our strength lies in the unity among the three largest groups in the guerrilla movement. This allows us to receive aid and

arms and to be recognized by the United Nations as legitimate representatives of the Khmer people. A short time ago, Prime Minister Son Sann said that today the Cambodians can not allow themselves the luxury of being divided. As for the future of our country, I am sure that the experience of the past will not be repeated.

Question: Don't you believe that this alliance with the Khmer Rouge is the main reason why the western governments, particularly the United States, only give you humanitarian aid?

Answer: The United States doesn't send us military advisers and arms because they are afraid of getting involved in Indochina all over again. How else can you explain the fact that Mr Reagan, who opposes communism so strongly in Nicaragua, just limits himself to elegant-sounding words about our rights to self-determination and independence in Cambodia?

Question: How do you view the future of your country?

Answer: I am very optimistic, despite what we can see in the military field. The Vietnamese may win one or more battles, but they won't win the war. Our principal advantage is the support of our people.

Question: Your Highness, you have been king, you have suffered a military coup, you have known exile and prison, and now you are a resistance leader. Aren't you tired of this sort of life?

Answer: Before anything else, I am a Cambodian and I have to fight for my country's independence. I will only be able to retire to private life when we have achieved this goal.

7679

CSO: 3548/124

## PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA

# HENG SAMRIN INTERVIF ( ON PARTY, MILITARY DEVELOPMENTS

Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 23, Jun 85 pp 18-20

[Interview with Heng Samrin, General Secretary of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea, Chairman of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, interviewed by Victor Tsoppi]

[Text]

New Times: Comrade General Secretary, the Soviet people entertain feelings of sincere comradeship and friendship for the people of Kampuchee and are following with unflagging interest the enward merch of the People's Republic of Kampuchee. How would you characterize the most outstanding echievements of the Kampucheen people over the period since the liberation from the Pol-Pot regime?

Heng Samrin: We are deeply grateful to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to the Soviet government and to all the Soviet people for the sincere moral and material help and support they are giving us in our just struggle.

A comparison between the present situation and what we had to start from will give you an idea of what we have achieved ever the past six years. The country lay in ruins. Its social and aconomic structure was completely destroyed. The Pol Pot regime exterminated an enormous number of people employed in various spheres of the national economy. The plight of the Kampuchsens who survived was appelling—racked as they were by disease and reduced to a state of extreme physical exhaustion. Besides, immediately after liberation we had to combet the perfidious schemes of our enemies. The Paking hegemonists, the American imperialists, the extreme Right-wing elements in Theiland and their hanchmen in other countries rushed to the rescue of the Pol Pot and other reactionary Khmer groupings, began to

supply them with arms and to train them for subversion against our country. These forces still cannot reconcile themselves to the fact that our people's power has brought Kampucheans a new, free life, has made the people true masters of their country for the first time in Kampuchea's 2,000-year history and managed, over a very short period, to change the very face of our society beyond recognition. Take this fact, for instance: we drove Pol Petists out in 1979, and eliminated the danger of famine as early as 1980.

The year 1981 saw impressive achievements in the political sphere. Parliamentary elections pessed successfully. Revolutionary organs of power were being formed on a wide scale at all levels. The 4th Congress of the People's Revolutionary Party formulated the tasks facing our revolution and mapped out a clear-cut home and foreign policy line.

In 1982 we dealt a number of shattaring blows to our enamies' aggressive plans in all spheres—political, military and, finally, in the psychological war they tried to wage against us under the fleg of a "tripartite coalition government." Although headed by Sihanouk, the government was actually a cover-up for Pol Potists. The need to rebuil the enemy did not restrain our peaceful effort. We successfully tackled our economic problems. In 1983 we gathered two million tons of rice on an area of 1.74 million hecters. The year 1983 went down in our history as the year of the summit and other meetings of three countries of Indo-China which dealt with political, aconomic and cultural problems and marked a major step forward in the development and strengthening of the relations of friendship and solidarity among the peoples of Vietnam, Leos and Kampuchea.

Public life inside the country has become much more active. Congresses of the women's and youth organizations, of trade unions and other mass movements have been held. A rally of the participants in the emulation movement throughout the army and the first congress of the front-rankers of the nationwide emulation drive summed up the work done over the years since liberation. The fact is that thanks to the unity of our people major military victories were won: the enemies' fortified positions and key bases situated along the Kampuchea-Thailand border had been crushed. This folled the insene plans of the Pol Potists and their allies to everthrow the people's government in our country in 1984-85.

The Kampuchean army has strengthened its positions along the border with Thailand. Now it guarantees absolute security to the residents of the areas where the enemies previously infiltrated our territory, harassed and terrorized the civilian population. We take legitimete pride in the work we have done with regard to those who at one time had succumbed to enemy propaganda. Thanks to the humane policy of the party and government towards these deluded persons more and more of them come over to the side of the people. By now this phenomenon has assumed mess dimensions.

We pay much attention to party building. Primary organizations of the People's Revolutionary Party are being formed in residential areas, at factories and farms. The party has appreciably consolidated .its leading role in the country's life. It is largely thanks to this that we succeed in overcoming many difficulties. Take the agrarian sector, for instance. The weather was most unfavourable in the past agricultural year: a long spall of drought was followed by floods which hit a number of areas in the Mekong River basin. But we coped with all the difficulties, work went on, end the population was quarenteed normal conditions of life. A great deal of credit for this goes to the party and its local organizations. Our

successes on the home front brought major echievements in the foreign policy sphere and in diplomacy. The international prestige of the People's Republic of Kampuches has grown. As a result, the positions of our enemies have weakened markedly and irreversibly.

I believe, three important factors of the current political situation should be singled out.

First of all, our People's Revolutionary Party and the Kampuchean United Front for National Construction and Defence are firmly and unswervingly pursuing our chosen course in home and foreign policy. We are giving top priority to the training of personnel at all the levels of the management system and seek to improve this system. We seek to imbus our comrades with a sense of responsibility for raising their professional skills, we expect them to learn to brave ell difficulties, selflessly fulfil the tasks set them, competently organize their work, taking the concrete circumstances into account.

Second, our armed forces and our people make up an organic whole. They have been brought together by the sense of petriotism. Over the six-odd years since liberation, our people and our army have invariably displayed political maturity and consciousness, resolutely defending independence, investing every effort into the restoration and development of the national economy, particularly of its basis, agriculture, which is also a source of raw materials for our industry, and seeking to raise our welfare standards and to enrich our spiritual life.

Third, the timely and all-round moral and material aid and support rendered us by our Vietnamese, Leotian and Soviet Iriends, by all the fraterna' socialist countries, by progressives everywhere is of tremendous, truly decisive importance.

New Times: What are the basic tasks the People's Revolutionary Party sets the country at the present stage of the building of the new society?

Heng Samrin: The main tasks set by the 4th Perty Congress are to reliably protect the independence of the republic and to carry on national upbuilding, with gradual transition to socialism as its goal.

Our military, political, economic and diplomatic struggle is concentrated on weakening the enemy forces from day to day and dealing them one defeat after another. At the same time we are conducting extensive explanatory work among all groups of the population, particularly among those who have been deceived by our enemies, with the resuit that they are coming over to the side of the people, to the side of the revolution, and returning to their families. We see to it that our officials and government bodies pursue without any abuses the party and government line towards those who have admitted their mistakes.

In our day-to-day political work we are translating into life the principles approved by the all-Kempuches conference of party workers and the socioeconomic programme of development for 1985, and promoting agriculture in every way. We also devote much attention to cultural and educational work. to the development of the public health services, to the gradual improvement of the people's living standards. This explains why the nation's support for the cause of the revolution, for the party and the new Kempucheen state is growing from day to day. Our people yearn for peace and happiness. They are resolutely fighting the enemies, ectively building and defending their motherland. In order to continue our successful efforts in this direction we must consolidate the unity of all the elements of our society. We are strengthening our revolutionary forces and we place special emphasis on enhancing the influence and authority of our party in towns and villages, at state factories and in army units.

We believe this to be the right way to carry out the political tasks set by the party. We now have three basic tasks: to fight the enemies and to win over to our side the people they have deceived; to increase production; to strengthen our revolutionary, administrative and party ranks. While tackling these problems we shall be able to select the worthlest from among the working people to replanish the ranks of the party, the revolutionary public organizations and government bodies et all levels.

seew Times: Although they have suffored crushing defeats on the battlefield, the enemies of the Kampuchean people, who have every support of international reactionary forces, have not given up their schemes and are still trying to interfere with the Kempuchean people's peaceful work. What could you say in this connection?

Hong Samrin: After the overthrow of Pol Pot's regime of genocide on January 7, 1979, the forces of imperialism and hagemonism and certain reactionary circles in the ASEAN, including the extrame Right-wing forces in Thailand's ruling quarters, gave every support to the overthrown clique. Bangkok has granted shelter on Thalland's territory to the defeated Pol Potists and to other Khmer reactionary groupings who are trying to penetrate into Kampuchea from there to commit acts of terrorism in order to undermine the revolutionary process in our country. In 1982-83 the enemy's plans to capture a number of frontier provinces with a view to setting up two zones, two states, and strengthoning the positions of the so-called "tripartite coalition government" fell

In 1984 their schemes assumed a still more sinister character: they set their sights on everthrowing the revolutionary power in Kampuchea, in accordance with their plan, armed bends of Khmer reactionaries were to have made a deep thrust into the territory of Kampuchea and captured regional and provincial centres. At the same time they intended to commit various acts of sabotage, to unleash a psychological war, to throw our economy into disarray, to undermine production and thus create difficulties for the population.

They resorted to various methods in their attempts to carry out these sinister schemes. Peking and the extreme Rightwing Thai circles tried to bring pressure to bear on Laos. Thai troops illegally occupied three Laotian sattlements. At the same time, acts of aggression were committed against six northern provinces of Vietnam on the borders of which China concentrated nearly a million troops and a thousand planes, and built fortifications. Peking formed an espionage network for subversive actions in the south of Vietnam

so as to weaken that country. Our enemies wanted to make Vietnem transfer its troops from Kampuchea to Laos so as to help the latter and to protect its own northern borders, hoping to take advantage of this to over-

throw the Kampuchean government. However, all their plans failed thanks to combat solidarity of Kampuchea, Vietnam and Loos.

The situation in Kampuchea is now more stable than ever. Our armed forces have strengthened their positions along the border with Thailand, thus providing a reliable guarantee of order and security for the population. The people are active in construction work and in defending their country, they have firm confidence in the morrow.

Kampuchea's prestige in the world arena is growing from day to day. Public opinion in a number of Western countries-Sweden and France, for instance-condamns the Pol Pot clique and demands that all political and military support for it, used by international reaction to build up tension, be stopped. Peking hegemonists use the Pol Potists as an instrument for aggravating the situation in the region. Quite obviously, the only way to make Southeast Asia a zone of peace, stability and cooperation is through peaceful negotiations between the countries of Indo-China and the ASEAN without any interference from the outside.

New Times: International imperialism is still trying to conduct a policy of isolation, boycott and blackmail with regard to Kampuchea. What measures is your country taking to strengthen its positions in the world arena?

Heng Samrie: The imperialists' policy aimed at isolating and tearing Kampuchea away from the international community, from the socialist world system—the Soviet Union and Vietnam, above all—has failed. It had no chance of success because our struggle for independence, peace, freedom and social progress accords with the aspirations of most people on earth and with the trand of present-day world development.

Therefore, despite the enemies' attempts to slander. Kampuchea we are getting ever greater support from the progressive peace-loving international public. By now, 40 states and national liberation organizations have recognized.

Kampuchea, and several countries have established diplomatic relations with it. We will continue our policy of independence, peace, non-alignment and friendship with all nations based on the principles of equality, mutual respect, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, with regard for each country's interests and the interests of universal peace and social progress. This is the invariable stand of the People's Republic of Kampuchea thanks to which it carries ever greater weight in the international arena.

New Times: Every visitor to your country sizes ample evidence of fruit-fulness of Kampuchean-Soviet cooperation in the economic, scientific and cultural spheres. What is your view of the results of the cooperation between our two countries? What opportunities are there, in your opinion, for the further broadening and strengthening of our relations?

Heng Samrin: We are highly satisfied with the progress of the relations of friendship and cooperation between Kempuchea and the Soviet Union. These relations are developing and growing stronger from year to year. The Kempuchean people largely owe the successes they have achieved over the past six years, and their new life, to the fraternal and timely assistance and support given us by Vietnam, Leos, the friendly socialist countries and, above all, the great Soviet Union.

Since the very inception of our republic the Soviet Union has rendered If great assistance, especially in the fields of the economy, science and culture. The Soviet Union has helped us develop our agriculture, industry, transport, public education and health services. It has helped us build more than 50 projects, including the Higher Technical Institute of Kampuchean-Soviet Friendship which was fully restored by early 1984, the fourth thermoelectric power plant in Pnom Penh, the Soviet-Kampuchean Friendship Hospital, and the Tuk Thlai vocational training centre (which is to be expanded). Electric power stations are being built with So-

viet assistance in Kompong Cham Province, in Kompongsam, Battambang, Siemreap, and an agricultural institute is under construction in Pnom Penh. In our capital, the water supply system will be fully restored and several hotels, cinemas and a circus repaired soon with our Soviet friends' assistance. I cannot fail to mention the fact that some 1,600 Kampuchean students have completed or are continuing their course of study in the Soviet Union so as to make their contribution to the development of Kampuchea's national economy. Kampuchean-Soviet cooperation in the fields of culture, science and education is making steady headway.

I think very highly of the relations of friendship and cooperation between Kampuchea and the U.S.S.R. because they not only serve the interests of our country and promote fraternal ties between our nations, but also contribute to the strengthening of the entire socialist community, to the victorious fight for peace and socialism.

## PEOFLE'S REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA

## TRADE WITH USSR SURVEYED

Moscow POREIGN TRADE in English No 4, 1985 pp 25-26

[Article by Ivan Dyuzhilov, USSR Trade Representative in the People's Republic of Kampuchea]

[Text]

After the Pol Pot-leng Sary clique had been driven out of Kampuchea the Republic made great progress in restoring its national economy which during the years of the anti-people's government was reduced to a state of full dislocation and anarchy.

The government's economic policy during all these years was aimed at restoring and developing agriculture. As a result of the measures undertaken the country's food situation was stabilized: the crops of rice, vegetables, fruits, soya, peanuts and sugar cane are being increased year by year as well as those of natural rubber, cotton, jute and other industrial crops. Animal husbandry productivity is advancing. In 1982 and 1983 a record catch of fish, the Kampuchean people's second staple food after rice in their diet was achieved.

Despite the shortage of raw material, equipment, spare parts and skilled specialists scores of industrial enterprises manufacturing building materials and tools, bicycles, agricultural implements, pumps and consumer goods were put into operation.

Railway, road and air transport is operating normally. The country's communications system has been fully restored.

The fraternal assistance rendered by the Soviet Union, Vietnam and other socialist countries has been and is of paramount importance for the country's rehabilitation.

The USSR is the young Kampuchean Republic's major foreign trade partner.

February 1985 marked five years since the signing of the USSR-Kampuchea Intergovernmental Trade Agreement. Its conclusion started a new important stage in the Soviet Union's cooperation with the young republic which inherited from the Pol Pol regime a decayed economy, the total destruction of economic and socio-economic ties and a real threat of famine.

Even in 1979, immediately after the country's liberation, the Soviet Government took the decision to render Kampuchea urgent help: in twelve months the Soviet Union supplied goods worth nearly 55 million rubles, including 159,000 tons of bread products (in terms of grain), medicines and dressings worth one million rubles, over 900 tons of paper, 4.6 million metres of cloth, 2,500 tons of household soap, 50,000 tons of petroleum products, 7,800 tons of rolled ferrous metals, 5,000 tons of cement, 660 vehicles and buses, etc.

The summit talks held in Moscow, February 1980, during the visit of a delegation from the People's Republic of Kampuchea headed by Heng Samrin, General Secretary of the PRPK (People's Revolutionary Party of Kam-

puchea) Central Committee, Chairman of the State Council of Kampuchea, to the Soviet Union and the understandings reached laid a sound foundation for all-round cooperation between the Soviet Union and Kampuchea. These talks resulted in the signing of Soviet-Kampuchean documents—a declaration which reflected the main content of the talks and consolidated the principles of our countries' relations as well as several agreements including one on trade.

The Agreement of February 5, 1980, granted each side the most-favoured-nation treatment in everything pertaining to trade and other types of economic relations and merchant shipping; a system for the price formation of supplied goods, methods of payments and ways to settle disputable questions were established. Both sides accepted obligations to take all necessary measures that would develop and strengthen their trade and economic ties. The same day a Protocol on setting up a USSR Trade

Representation in Kampuchea was signed.

Under this Agreement the Soviet Union in 1980 continued deliveries of goods, on favourable terms, most important for restoring the country's economy destroyed by the Pol Pot regime and stabilizing the life of Kampuchea's people. That year Kampuchea received from the Soviet Union free of charge: nearly 100,000 tons of bread products (in terms of grain), medicines worth 0.5 million rubles, 7.5 million metres of cloth, 123,000 tons of petroleum products, kitchen ware and household facilities worth 1.2 million rubles, etc. in total worth nearly 60 million rubles. In its turn Kampuchea shipped its first consignments of natural rubber to the Soviet Union.

The next two years (1981 and 1982) witnessed the further deepening of USSR-Kampuchea trade and economic cooperation, its quantitative and qualitative development. The two countries' trade volume in 1981 amoun-

ted to 61.6 million rubles; the Soviet Union supplied machinery, equipment and transportation means worth 19.2 million rubles, petroleum products worth 14.2 million rubles, 9.8 million rubles of cloths, and other goods allin-all valued at 59.7 million rubles. Kampuchea delivered natural rubber worth 1.9 million rubles to the USSR. In 1982 USSR-Kampuchea mutual goods deliveries reached 55.7 million rubles, Soviet export being 53.4 million rubles and import from the People's Republic of Kampuchea 2.3 million rubles. To balance the trade turnover the Soviet Union in 1981 and 1982 granted substantial credits.

The signing of a Long-term Trade and Payments Agreement between the USSR and the People's Republic of Kampuchea for 1983-1985 in February 1983, the first

three-year one in the history of Soviet-Kampuchean relations, opened new possibilities for expanding mutual trade. Long-term planning of our countries' trade relations enabled efforts to be concentrated on the most important aspects of bilateral cooperation and increased its effectiveness.

In the course of this three-year agreement the Soviet Union sends Kampuchea increased volumes of petroleum products, rolled ferrous metals, machinery and equipment, lorries, road-building machinery, fertilizers, consumer goods, medicines, etc.

During 1983 Kampuchee received from the USSR goods worth 67.8 million rubes: machinery, equipment and transportation means (27.2 million rubles), petroleum products (21.4 million rubles), 1,000 tons of cotton yarn and 10 million metres of cloths and other goods.

Soviet deliveries are of great help in restoring Kampuchea's devastated economy, creating an export base and improving the people's living standard and are of decisive significance for practical assurance of the Kampuchean Government's course aimed at developing agriculture and achieving the country' full self-provision in foodstuffs.

The People's Republic of Kampuchea is exerting efforts to increase its exports to the Soviet Union. It should be pointed out that despite certain difficulties Kampuchea's export has the tendency to increase annually. Up to now the import from Kampuchea was solely natural rubber; however, in the near future the plan is to purchase other Kampuchea's traditional export goods whose output is now exceeding the country's internal demands (timber, cigarettes, beach footwear). The industrial enterprises being restored with the USSR's assistance will help extend the range of Kampuchea's export goods.

USSR-Kampuchea Trade Turnover

(min rubles)

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
Trade turnover	3.2	61.6	55.7	71.8	81.4
Export	1.6	59.7	53.4	67.8	76.2
Import	1.6	1.9	2.3	4.0	5.2

The meeting of N.A. Tikhonov, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and Chan Si, Member of the Political Bureau of the PRPK Central Committee, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, became an important event assisting the further development and strengthening Soviet-Kampuchean cooperation in all spheres. In the Soviet-Kampuchean Communiqué issued after the visit the Sides declared the mutual readiness to comprehensively consolidate and expand USSR-Kampuchea relations in the spirit of the Soviet-Kampuchean Declaration of February 5, 1980.

The Soviet Union again confirmed the invariability of the USSR's basic course for rendering all-round assistance and support to fraternal Kampuchea in building a new life and defending its revolutionary gains.

The five-year period that has passed since the signing of the first trade agreement demonstrates this document's great importance for strengthening and developing trade and economic relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Kampuchea and their further consolidation.

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA

#### HEALTH CARE NETWORK DESCRIBED

Hanoi VNA in English 1 Apr 85 pp 9, 10

[Text] Hahoi VNA April 1—In the current campaign of improving public health, medical personnel in Kampuchea have given a higher priority to strengthening the health care service and to better sanitary and preventive work, reports SPK.

Right after the liberation of the country in 1979, the revolutionary administration attached great importance to the protection of public health. A sanitary network was gradually restored and extended from urban areas to villages and mass vaccination was applied, thus enabling the population to cope with various epidemic and other fatal diseases induced by the genocide under the criminal Pol Pot regime.

Great efforts have been made to promote disease treatment, mother and child care, production of medicine, and professional training.

As a result, last year's incidences of cholera, diarrea, typhoid, diphtheria, whooping cough, hemorrhagic fever and malaria were considerably reduced. The rate of deaths of certain diseases was dropped from 4.88 (four point double eight) to 2.82 (two point eight two) percent.

Hospitals in provincial towns now can conduct major operations. In treatment, the medical workers also pay attention to traditional medicine, acupuncture and massage in combination with modern medicine.

Fifty doctors graduated from the Phnom Penh college of medicine in 1984 are now in service of the population. At present medical staff members at each provincial hospital average 180, they are 15 at district level and two at each communal station.

The building of more model village in sanitation and more creches has also added to the improvement of the people's health.

Despite considerable difficulties, including the shortage of personnel, medicine and equipment, Kampuchea's public health service across the country, with the assistance from socialist and friendly countries and international humanitarian agencies, and in close cooperation with local mass organizations, is trying to encourage the whole population to join in the campaign to better their own health.

In the first two months of this year, health workers in Kratie, a northeastern province, examined 24,000 people including 1,650 children and hospitalized 800 patients. They also gave periodical checks to 628 expecting mothers and delivered 234 babies.

Last year almost 500,000 cases were treated, some 3,500 people suspected of having malaria, tuberculosis and other diseases were given tests.

Moreover, prevention of diseases was pushed up: 62,860 people were vaccinated against cholera and tuberculosis, and 35,000 others distributed anti-malaria medicine.

Great attention was paid to mother and child care: 5,800 women were given pre-natal checks and 2,300 others with gynaecological diseases and 7,150 children treated.

# PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA

REPORT ON AUSTRALIAN AID; DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER'S VIEWS

Canberra ACFOA NEWS in English No 9, Apr 85 [no pages given]

[Text]

The attempts by the Foreign Minister Mr Hayden to play a mediation role over the conflict in Kampuchea have come under heavy fire from ASEAN and the media in the wake of his recent visit to Vietnam. Whilst the comments of the Thai and Singaporean Foreign Ministers receive headlines, few media reports emerge from Kampuchea about the presence of the Vietnamese, the views of the Phnom Penh authorities or the state of the Khmer nation.

While Mr Hayden was in Vietnam, Russell Rollason, the Executive Director of the Australian Council for Overseas Aid was in Kampuchea reviewing the aid projects of Australian aid agencies and talking with government and non-government officials in Phnom Penh. Here is his report.

#### Six Years Later

Six years after liberation from the bloody rule of Pol Pot, Kampuchea is close to achieving self-sufficiency in rice and Phnom Penh, the former majestic capital city, is once again becoming a bustling city of bicycles. When people returned to the war deserted Phnom Penh in mid 1979, they freely chose where to live and took up residency on a first in-first served basis. Conflicts between former owners and newly arrived 'owners' were apparently minimal. Today, however, many buildings still remain unoccupied and services to most are poor or non existent. The electricity and water supply to Phnom Penh is very erratic. The streets are dirty and many are still blocked by rubble and destroyed car bodies from the Pol Pot period. Khmer initiative is thriving along the side walks of Phnom Penh in

bicycle and motor cycle repair shops, tailor shops, barbers and ladies hair-dressers and electrical repair shops filled with a variety of old style radios, refrigerators or televisions.

Towards the outskirts of the city come the fire-wood sellers, bamboo sellers, and street stalls with cane baskets and a variety of other household necessities.

In the centre of Phnom Penh, a very large market has sprung up. The variety of goods available is immense. Whilst the market is referred to as the Black Market it operates freely and openly. Technically the market is illegal but as a local explained — "If the Soviet Union has not managed to close their black markets after trying for 60 years, why should we try". Most of the goods available come from Thailand and include portable radio cassette players, the latest pop music on cassette, clothes from Europe, footwear, silk cloth, precious stones, gold and silverware, as well as a wide range of tools, mechanical spare parts, paint and electrical bits and pieces.



Strangely, the former large domed Phnom Penh markets lay empty. This is explained by the fact that the Government controlled exchange rate is 7 Reil to the U.S. dollar whereas the free market rate is around 75 Reil to the dollar. If the Government operated the markets they would need to be at the official rate, a rate at which they simply could not function. Even Government officials acting as guides to foreigners will assist in the exchange of money in the markets at the 'free market' rate.

# Khmer Rouge Past

Visitors to Kampuchea today are usually hosted by a Government agency and the itinerary includes visits to four places that reflect two elements of Kampuchean history. First is a visit to one of the mass grave sites, which are a stark reminder of the horror and brutality of the Pol Pot—Khmer Rouge period. At the Choeung Ek graves some 10 kilometres outside Phnom Penh hundreds of exumed human skulls and bones lay on the two racks in an open-sided building. The noticeboard proclaims "129 graves, 86 unearthed, 78,965 skulls".

Second is a visit to Toul Sleng prison where thousands of Kampucheans met a grissly death often after prolonged torture. Toul Sleng is the Auschwitz of Asia. Every Kampuchean family lost at least one member of their family and even today people still search for their family members.

It is this memory and this history that lies at the heart of the conflict on the Thailand-Kampuchea border, a conflict about which Foreign Minister Hayden has sought to encourage negotiations. The Khmer people cannot easily forgive or forget the Khmer Rouge and not only live in fear of their return but are adamant that the Khmer Rouge should not be allowed to sit at any negotiating table. The future of Kampuchea must be one without the Khmer Rouge.

#### Khmer Future

The second two sites reflect the history and richness of Khmer culture and heritage. They are the former Royal Palance complete with the Silver Pagoda named because of its massive silver floor and the National Museum which reveals the centuries over which Khmer culture developed to its crowning in the Khmer Kingdom centred on Angkor Wat.

Kampucheans are a unique people with a strong cultural heritage. It is clear they seek a Khmer national identity. Kampuchea is a destroyed nation in the process of rebirth. After a week, I am convinced that Kampuchea does not wish to be the satellite of any other nation. It wants to be an independent nation that can choose its friends and allies.

It soon becomes clear to the visitor in Phnom Penh that Soviets are not liked by the Kampuchean people. One evening when riding in cyclo or bicycle-rickshaw some children called out "Soviet" to my colleague. The cyclo driver knew otherwise and quickly reprimanded the children saying "Not Soviet, Australian". He continued "Australia No. 1, Soviet no good. Soviet No. 10,000". The fact that Soviets often do not pay the cyclo drivers provides good grounds for such a view. For the Khmers, Russians are 'Americans without dollars'.

Similarly there is an underlying current of animosity between the Kampucheans and the Vietnamese. The action of the Vietnamese in expelling the Pol Pot regime is much appreciated but both Vietnamese and Kampuchean authorities realise that as security improves, dissatisfaction with the Vietnamese presence, unobtrusive as it is, will certainly grow. In Phnom Penh, the Vietnamese are blamed for all the problems — no fish in the markets, no parts for the machines and so on.

#### Australian Role Welcomed

Australia's unique role in seeking to break the deaklock over Kampuchea is respected and welcomed in both Kampuchea and Vietnam even if not so by the ASEAN countries. But this is not the only role being taken by Australia that is welcomed.

Australian aid, although small in quantity, has been reaching Kampuchea through the channels of Australian non-government aid organisations and through UNICEF, Red Cross and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. In this way Australia has not only contributed to development but also has encouraged the Kampuchean authorities to play down the question of recognition of the Heng Samrin Government in favour of opening up unofficial relations with western countries. Such relations are opening up, particularly with France.

# Aid Appreciated

The most obvious Australian presence in Kampuchea is the Australian Freedom From Hunger Campaign program of assistance for the restoration of irrigation channels and the installation of water pumps for dry season agriculture. Australian aid has also been channelled through Australian Catholic Relief, World Vision, Quaker Service Council and other groups but their program is implemented as part of an international effort by their counterpart organisations active in Kampuchea.

Freedom From Hunger's work with the Ministry of Agriculture has earned considerable respect for Australia and particularly for the technicians who have directed the installation and maintenance of the Australian-made pumps.

However, the apparent bustle of Phnom Penh's city streets belies the extreme poverty of rural Kampuchea. During 1984, heavy rain in the catchment area of the Mekong River in south China resulted in flooding in parts of Kampuchea while vast areas of the country suffered drought. Dry season crops were either flooded or failed to grow due to lack of sufficient water. Consequently, this year there will be a shortage of rice.

Another legacy of the war is that many draught animals, mainly oxen were either killed or are now growing old or diseased. Increased rice production depends on replacement of the draught animals of Kampuchea. This month a herd of breeding cattle will arrive from the Philippines to a newly developed draught animal breeding centre south of Phnom Penh. Adviser to the Lutheran World Service project is a Queensland Agricultural Consultant, Fabian Sweeny and a visit to the property gives one a déja vu feeling. The presence of Australian pasture grasses, eucalyptus trees and Australian designed fences and farm sheds gives the Kampuchean property a 'down-under' feeling.

# More Help Needed

Kampuchea reputedly has some of the richest fresh water and salt water fishing grounds in the world yet the wartime loss of nets, skills and boats means the industry is grossly

underproducing.

The need for international assistance is immense yet international politics has cut Kampuchea off from development and from the UN-World Bank system and development aid from most western countries. In 1984, Australia provided approximately \$5 million for emergency relief and aid through Australian non-government organisations and through UNICEF, UNHCR and Red Cross. However, the aid provided is restricted to humanitarian purposes, as opposed to development. Not only should this counterproductive embargo be lifted but Australian aid should be immediately and substantially increased. The people of Kampuchea have suffered enough. They need assistance now.

Without international aid to recover from the destruction and devastation of the war and the Pol Pot period, Kampuchea will have no choice but greater dependence on aid from the Eastern block countries. Surely the experience of the Marshall Plan and its massive aid from the USA to Europe after World War II is sufficient argument for immediate and increased aid to Kampuchea from western countries including Australia. As a Phnom Penh aid worker commented — "By denying aid to Kampuchea, the western countries are defeating what they most want to accomplish — an independent, free Kampuchea".

AID FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE	NCE		
Food for returner program	0.162		
UNICE		0.050	
Water drilling			2.112
Non-Government Organisations			
Grants to NGO programs	0.250		
Australian Presdom From Hunger Campaign	0.264		
Australian Red Cross Society	0.01		
On the Course Course America		0.100	
ermont contribution to Project Schoolsy Schools			
Australian Calbolic Relati	900		
Autor	0.024		
Quaker Service Council Australia	0.028	0.110	
Total ald three NGOs			0.860
TOTAL AID FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE			
EMERGENCY RELIEF AID			
and relief Australian Francisco From Human Committee	0.100		
Quaker Service Council Australia World Vision	0.045	0.175	
Food (rice) and furtilizer  Australian Catholic Relief			1.992
TOTAL EMERGENCY RELIEF AID			
ADDITIONAL OF CITY THAT WATER OF THE			

# The Kampuchean View of the Thai-Kahmpuchea Border Conflict

The following is a record of a meeting with the Kampuchean Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Dith Monty in Phnom Penh on 9 March 1985.

It is published because the viewpoint of the Kampuchean Government is rarely heard in Australia. Publication does not imply endorsement by ACFOA of these views.

In 1984 their 'enemies' started a program of infiltration, operating from bases at the border, in order to establish themselves with the people. They sent spies to the main cities, including Phnom Penh, and carried out acts of sabotage. Their object was to create internal confusion and them to attack from outside in 1985.

This plan was forestalled by the military campaign along the border, which is still continuing. Most of the major strongholds of both Sonn Sann and Pol Pot have been taken and thousands of rifles and hundreds of tons of supplies have been captured. All strongholds have been wiped out. They are now clearing Sihanouk's strongholds and these are expected to fall in a few days. The Coalition's supporters have fabricated stories of border incursions. These are not true — Kampuchea respects the sovereignty and integrity of Thailand.

Not all the Coalition's bases have been destroyed as some are in Thailand. Thailand is helping the enemy forces to recover and to strike back, making no secret of their intentions. It is not true that Kampuchean forces have attacked refugee camps.

The Kampuchean Government wants to bring about repatriation of refugees for the sake of family reunification. Thailand is opposing any repatriation. The Kampuchean Government has proposed talks with Thailand to discuss repatriation but Thailand rejects these. Kampuchea has proposed talks between the Kampuchea Red Cross and the Thai Red Cross but these have also been rejected. The use of intermediary countries or U.N. agencies has also been suggested, but all efforts at repatriation are blocked by Thailand. Kampuchea is also requesting that the camps be moved away from the conflict area along the border but this has been refused. Thailand opposes all proposals; they only want repatriation by force.

The Kampuchean Government is proposing the creation of a security zone along the border, with the removal of resistance forces on the Thai side and Vietnamese 'volunteers' on the Kampuchean side. Thailand proposes only unilateral withdrawal of the Vietnamese and will take no action over the Coalition forces.

They are arming reactionaries and rejecting self-determination for the Khmers, their right to live free from the threat of Pol Pot and to defend their country. They use the refugees as a cover so they do not want a solution to the refugee problem. They get economic benefit from keeping the refugees; the refugees give support to the Pol Pot cause and the Thais get international credit as well as military aid.

Kampuchea wants a peaceful settlement in the region. They see only two solutions: one, a political solution involving the abandonment of Pol Pot, and two, the military eliminatio. A the reactionaries. Kampuchea will do its best to solve the problem by itself, but this will take five to ten years, after which Vietna... will withdraw. Then there will be no more Pol Pot and no more Vietnamese volunteers.

The Kampuchean Government has issued a clemency policy. Anyone who abandons Pol Pot and respects the constitution will have the same rights as all other Kampucheans. ASEAN countries insist on total withdrawal of Vietnam followed by elections involving all parties. This is not acceptable as it is one sided. Pol Pot, representing groups, has lost the right to participate in elections.

Kampuchea welcomes the efforts of any country trying to help find a political solution. Those of the Australian Foreign Minister are especially welcome. Hun Sen met Mr Hayden in Ho Chi Minh City yesterday (8/3), gave him a description of the real situation and proposed some measures for solving problems. They had a good discussion. Kampuchea much appreciates the constructive role played by the Australian Foreign Minister. Mr Hayden was told that any joint government with the Khmer Rouge was out of the question but the position remained flexible regarding anyone abandoning the Khmer Rouge alliance.

Kampuchea would welcome non-government contact with Australia in the future, including Kampuchean visits to Australia.

#### MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

# NGUYEN THI DINH DESCRIBES WOMEN'S RESPONSIBILITIES

Hanoi DAI DOAN KET in Vietnamese 10 Apr 85 p 4

Article by Nguyen Thi Dinh, member of VCP Central Committee, chairwoman of Vietnam Women's Union: "Responsibilities of Women Nationwide"

[Text] These days, people and women nationwide are preparing with fervor the 10th anniversary of the total liberation of the south. That reminds me of our combatants day and night going through hardships and sacrifices at the fatherland's frontline, to fight and repel invasion plots of the Chinese chauvinistic and expansionistic clique, and also of those combatants who, throughout the 30-year war against French colonialists and U.S. imperialists, had we victory after victory, playing a decisive role in liberating the south and unifying the fatherland.

The words "fatherland's frontline" remind me of the years of fighting Americans in the southern battlefield. The whole great rear in the north was then focusing attention on the great frontline in the south.

Through the "five goods," and "three responsibilities" emulation campaigns, and the movement of "new women building and defending the fatherland," our mothers and sisters contributed to consolidating the rear, and sending manpower and wealth to frontline combatants, to help them defeat the enemy. During the war against Americans, the sisterhood movement between women of northern provinces and their southern counterparts greatly encouraged women from both regions to overcome difficulties and challenges and fulfill properly all their duties. Campaigns to rear "Vinh Tra hogs," and "Long An chickens" of Thai Binh and Hai Hung women, and a movement to volunteer to nurse "Bac Lieu and Camau fields," of Ha Nam Ninh women, not only generated high economic efficiency, but also engraved in the women's minds the blood ties of north-south sisterhood.

A sisterly campaign aimed at sponsoring military units and hospitals expanded in war-affected provinces and cities, and in places having sent units abroad on lofty international missions. Our mothers and sisters took care of the combatants as if they were their husbands and children. In the past, mothers and sisters set up, on all roads of the resistance war, "rest stations for troops," "eating houses for combatants," and "jars of rice in the name of love"; at present, they diligently offer "support for frontline

combatants," sending them daily wages, money and essential utensils as gifts. Although that campaign was launched just in mid-1984, it has initially collected nearly 25 million dong and other gifts in kind. Once again, a campaign of sisterhood between provincial women's unions and military units and hospitals has developed, with effective activities. Southern provinces have regularly visited and handed presents to army units stationed on the southwestern border and those fulfilling their international obligations in Kampuchea and Laos. In some provinces, women placed "jars of rice in the name of love" to collect rice, and opened savings accounts to aid new draftees.

The campaign to save money every day by putting it into "earthen hogs," and "earthen chickens," launched by Ho Chi Minh City women to support army units, or the movement to open a "golden book in support for the young generation" to collect donations in Tien Giang, and the letters sent by people in the rear and by families of combatants to the frontline, have contributed to stimulating our warriors in border areas. The Minh Hai provincial women's union bought winter vests and brought them up to Lang Son and Ha Tuyen for combatants defending vanguard posts there. Women in the provinces of Nghe Tinh, Thanh Hoa, Son La, Thai Binh, Ha Nam Ninh, Minh Hai, Ho Chi Minh City, Vinh Phu, Bac Thai, Ha Bac, and so on, bought blankets, shawls and winter vests, and sent them to border combatants on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the creation of the Vietnam People's Army.

Women's union echelons in six border provinces, especially Ha Tuyen, Cao Bang and Lang Son, have mobilized members to grow subsidiary food crops and rear chickens and hogs, playing the role of local rear service for combatants. Mothers and sisters in these provinces have also visited warriors at distant posts and nursed wounded soldiers at military infirmaries.

It can be said that the movement to give "support for frontline combatants" is both deep and broad, reflecting the love and responsibility of every woman living in the rear for our troops fighting in the fatherland's front-line. In reading Comrade Dam Quang Trung's article in DAI DOAN KET (No 7 of 27 March 85), I think that all activities of mass organizations and various party and administration echelons concerning our border should bring about practical effectiveness and take on a long-term strategic nature.

Depending on individual functions, each mass organization, sector and echelon should act to add strength to the border provinces, and ensure that each border unit is an impregnable fortress capable of fighting and defeating the enemy. Since serving as a rear echelon and giving "support for frontline combatants" has long been a big task for the Vietnam Women's Union, the latter has regularly taught cadres and members to raise their responsibility and love for the families of war dead and war invalids, and the army, especially those combatants guarding our frontier and islands, and fulfilling international obligations.

In addition to regular activities, which the union has conducted, and is conducting, in the capacity of a rear echelon, we will, with respect to the border provinces, do the following work:

- 1. Expand the sisterhood movement between women in the rear provinces and women in the border provinces and incite them to aid each other, in terms of seeds, production capital, and experiences in organizing production and handling family problems in the event of hostilities. Whenever necessary, they may offer housing facilities and long-term resettlement.
- Step up training of women's ethnic minority cadres in the border areas
  to make them able to mobilize the local masses to fight while producing.
  Continue to conduct the campaign to support frontline combatants and serve as
  an effective rear echelon.
- 3. Propose that the party, state and official organs consider appropriate procedures and policies toward combatants in charge of defending our border and islands and fulfilling international obligations in keeping with present conditions and responsibilities.
- 4. Propose that the state proclaim adequate procedures and policies toward women cadres from various sectors assigned to the border provinces (including precise provisions on time limits, salaries and other subsidies, in line with Resolution 176A of the Council of Ministers).
- 5. Women's Union echelons should coordinate closely with their counterparts in the Fatherland Front, mass organizations and related sectors to work together as a rear echelon. The image of "our combatants" has been deeply engraved in the hearts of our mothers and sisters living in the rear. And the image of our "Vietnamese mothers" has become a lofty and magnificent symbol for our combatants. On this occasion, I beg to represent our mothers and various women's strata, to send our most affectionate love and highest trust to the combatants fighting day and night in border areas and on islands, and fulfilling nuble international obligations in Kampuchea and Laos.

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# INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, TRADE AND AID

#### VAN TIEN DUNG HAILS CAMBODIAN ARMY DAY

OW182040 Hanoi VNA in English 1526 GMT 18 Jun 85

[Text] Hanoi, 18 Jun (VNA) -- Defence Minister General Van Tien Dung has extended his warmest greetings to his Kampuchean counterpart, Bouthong, on the 34th traditional day of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Armed Forces (June 19).

After recalling the formation and growth of the Kampuchean armed forces over the past 34 years and their close militant alliance with the Vietnam People's Army in the common struggle against the French colonialists, the U.S. imperialists and their stooges, especially in the fight to overthrow the genocidal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphan regime-henchment of Chinese expansionism-in January 1979, his congratulatory message says:

"Over the past six years, the Kampuchean armed forces and people, under the leadership of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party, have in the course of national rebirth made marvelous achievements in rehabilitating and developing their national economy, culture and society as well as in building and strengthening the people's democratic power throughout the country.

"The victories of the Kampuchean people and army in the 1984-85 dry season have in the main thwarted plots and activities of sabotage by the reactionary forces inside and outside the country. They provided another proof of the constant growth of the Kampuchean people's armed forces and were also victories of the special and close solidarity between the peoples and armies of Kampuchea and Vietnam."

The message thanks the party, government, armed forces and entire people of Kampuchea for their warm sentiments toward the Vietnamese people and army in their revolutionary cause.

It reiterates the firm resolve of the Vietnamese people and army to side with the Kampuchean people and armed forces in their struggle for national construction and defence and fulfill their internationalist duty toward the Kampuchean nation.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, TRADE AND AID

#### BRIEFS

TANZANIAN, UK ENVOYS PRESENT CREDENTIALS—Hanoi, 15 Jun (VNA)—Clement George Kahama and Richard Gilbert Tallboys, ambassadors extraordinary and plenipotentiary respectively of the United Republic of Tanazania and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to Vietnam today presented their credentials to Vice President of the State Council Nguyen Huu Tho. Present on the occasion were Minister Vo Dong Giang and Le Trang, deputy director of the Offices of the National Assembly and State Council. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 1503 GMT 15 Jun 85 CW]

FINNISH GROUP REITERATES SOLIDARITY-Hanoi, 17 Jun (VNA) -- The Finnish-Vietnamese Society has reaffirmed its support for and solidarity with the peoples of Vietnam and Kampuchea. In a statement issued in Helsinki on June 13 by its annual meeting, the society also condemned the United States for having failed to fulfill its obligations toward Vietnam as stipulated in the Paris Agreement on Vietnam and adopting a policy of economic blockade against it instead. The statement recalled the Finnish people's support for Vietnam's past struggle against the U.S. imperialists for national salvation and national construction at present. However, the statement said, the national reconstruction in Vietnam is being obstructed by the regional situation which will remain tense so long as the Pol Pot clique is still supported by outsiders to oppose the People's Republic of Kampuchea. The society urged the Finnish Government to establish diplomatic relations with the PRK Government -- a legal government in Kampuchea, so as to contribute to promoting peace in the region and creating conditions for the Vietnamese and Kampuchean peoples to build a new and better life for themselves. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 1613 GMT 17 Jun 85 OW]

HO CHI MINH CITY-VIENTIANE COOPERATION-Hanoi, 17 Jun (VNA)-A document on cooperation in industrial and handicraft production for 1985 between Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam, and the Lao capital of Vientiane was signed on June 12, according to our correspondent in Vientiane. Signatories were Tran Thien Tu, director of the Union of the Industrial and Handicraft Enterprises of Ho Chi Minh City and Khamdeng Thatsinousng, [spelling as received] director of the Service of Industries, Handicrafts and Forestry of Vientiane. The two cities will also step up the exchange of consumer goods. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 1612 GMT 17 Jun 85 OW]

U.S. BASES IN PHILIPPINES--The national leading paper NHAN DAN on Tuesday [18 June] says: Among the U.S. military bases abroad, those in the Philippines, especially the Clark Air Base and the Subic Naval Base, are the most important ones. Despite strong public protest, Washington is still seeking every means to maintain and strengthen the role of those military bases in an attempt to undermine the struggle for national independence in the region. [Text] [Hanoi International Service in English 1000 GMT 18 Jun 85 BK]

SOLIDARITY WITH LAOS--Hanoi, 18 Jun (VNA) -- More than 400 teachers and students of the school for cadres of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union held a meeting here today in support fo the Lao Foreign Ministry's recent statement regarding the Lao-Thai relations. It was attended among others by Hoang [name indistinct], secretary general of the Vietnam Laos Friendship Association; Nguyen Tung Son, director of the school, and representatives of the international department of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee. Lao Ambassador to Vietnam Khamfeun Tounalom attended. The participants adopted a resolution supporting recent statements issued by the Lao Ministry for Foreign Affairs and by the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry's spokesman on the Lao-Thai relations. The [word indistinct] condemned the collusion between the ultra-rightist reactionaries in the Thai ruling circles and the expansionist forces against the Lao People's Democratic Republic. It demanded that the Thai authorities resume their talks with the Lao side at the governmental level in order to settle outstanding issues concerning the relations between the two countries, thus contributing to making Southeast Asia a region of peace, stability, friendship and cooperation. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 1536 GMT 18 Jun 85 OW]

SUCCESS OF USSR VEGA-2-Hanoi, 18 Jun (VNA)--The national daily NHAN DAN to-day hails the successful mission of Vega-2 as a new and outstanding scientific and technological achievement of the Soviet Union in sapec research for peaceful purposes. "This achievement," the paper says has proved that Soviet cybernetics has reached a very high standard of accuracy and reliability. At a distance of hundreds of millions of kilometres, and constantly affected by the movement of many planets, coupled with diffration and the limited weight allowed for the equipment in the flying project the liaison with the earth and operation of the space vehicle must be conducted with a very high degree of accuracy and reliability. That is the composite result of various branches of science: microelectronics, semi-conductor, precision engineering, electronic calculation, and also the result of basic research on the theories of informatics and modern cipherization, etc.... Scientists and other people in Vietnam acclaim with great joy this new success of Soviet scientists in particular, and the Soviet people as a whole," NHAN DAN says. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 0720 GMT 18 Jun 85 OW]

# PARTY ACTIVITIES AND GOVERNMENT

# EXPANSION OF VIETNAM YOUTH FEDERATION IN THE NORTH DISCUSSED

Hanoi THANH NIEN in Vietnamese Feb 85 pp 20-22

Article by Hoang Hong: "Recruit Young People in Vietnam Youth Federation in Northern Provinces and Cities": passages within slantlines in italics

Text? Ever since the issuance of Directive No 11 by the Youth Union Central Committee Secretariat and especially after the March 1984 Central Committee Plenum, the northern provinces and cities have made rapid and firm strides in recruiting young people in the Youth Federation primary organizations.

In 1982, there was only one federation chapter in Hanoi which started mustering youth experimentally; today, 102 federation chapters have been founded throughout this city to muster the youth. At first, Phuc tan was the only subward in Hoam Kiem Ward which used its federation chapter to muster youth; today, 17 subward have set up federation chapters to gather young people. In 1983, Haiphong City experimentally guided An Duong Subward to muster young people and give them jobs following the models shaped by the federation; to date, 20 out of 33 subwards in this city have experimentally founded federation chapters which have successfully carried out activities. In 1983, the Nghe Tinh Provincial Youth Union started using the federation to muster young people; at present, 125 Youth Federation chapters have been founded in areas inhabited by Catholics, in streets and in areas inhabited by sea fishing (and salted fish producing) people. In particular, Hai Hung Province has set up a committee to found the youth federation and convened a symposium on recruiting youth in rural areas. Ha Nam Ninh, Vinh Phu and Quang Ninh Provinces have begun to guide the experimental foundation of federation chapters to gether youth in production installations in cities and Catholic areas.

From the above-mentioned facts, we have deduced that organizing the Youth Federation is still necessary and appropriate to the recruiting of youth though the cities and provinces of north Vietnam have, for more than 30 years, been in close contact with new problems arising from socialism and have gone through a period of simultaneous combat performance and socialist construction. On the other hand, though the level of political and ideological awareness of youth has been raised and though the social class structure has become purer, each individual youth still needs and aspires to participate in the activities of the Vietnam Youth Federation because it exactly responds to the psychology of youth of all social strata.

The progress made on the youth front in 1984 are new factors and features that have created new development trends and prospects for the recruiting of youth, for increasing the number of youth union members and for building the HCMCYU organizations in the cities and provinces of north Vietnam. Nevertheless, to vigorously and broadly recruit youth and build the federation in the northern provinces and cities to meet the requirements of the Youth Union activities among the masses, we find that attention should be paid to the following issues:

1. Need to Make Every Cadre and Youth Union Member Correctly Understand the Characteristics and Circumstances of Youth Federation Organizations in the Northern Provinces and Cities

In any revolutionary stage, recruiting young people is an important part of our union's organizational task. In conformity with the revolutionary spirit and mission in each stage, based on the actual situation of class structure and composition and of all social strata and taking into account the level of political and ideological enlightenment of youth of all strata during each revolutionary stage, our union must carry out the front task flexibly and skillfully to attract youth into union organizations.

/Recruiting young people to educate them, to increase the number of Youth Union members and to build union organizations/ is a factor necessary for building the union stably and strongly from the political, ideological and organizational points of view. For this reason, to speak about recruiting young people through the medium of the Youth Federation in the northern provinces and cities is to mention the organizational mission and task of Youth Union organizations at various echelons. Recruiting young people must not be thought of as the task of any Youth Federation organization alone but must be understood to be an intrinsic part of the organization task of the Youth Union itself.

The Youth Union carries out its youth mass activities through the medium of the Youth Federation but the building of the Youth Federation in the northern provinces and cities at present differs much from the building and development of the federation during the [former/ national democratic people's revolution. Therefore, in building the federation, it is necessary to pay attention to the circumstances and maturing characteristics of young people in the northern provinces. The first major issue is the fact that we are having to cope every hour and moment with the manifold war of destruction waged by the Chinese expansionist hegemonists and the world reactionary forces led by U.S. imperialism. Meanwhile, the struggle between the two roads -- socialist and capitalist -is taking place in all domains and becoming fiercer and ever more desperate and complex. Hence, our youth are not only assault combetants who are performing two strategic missions and three revolutions but are also a group of people whom all enemies are paying attention to and trying to win over to their side. The second major issue is the fact that young people in the northern provinces and cities were born and brought up and have grown up under the socialist regime, that they have been living in an atmosphere of independence and freedom, that they have received a comprehensive and systematic political, military, cultural, scientific and technical education and that everyday they have received substantial information from the mass information system of our party and state and from the worldwide information network.

As a result, some of our youth feel as if they were "satiated" with politics: they seem to dislike political activities and to prefer specialized and professional ones in which they can develop their talents. Therefore, our political task must be satisfactorily to fulfill two strategic missions (build and defend the fatherland) and to carry out three revolutions. In performing this task, the key factor enabling young people to master themselves and fulfill their political mission is their occupation and their scientific and technical knowledge. Consequently, in experimentally founding Youth Federation chapters in the northern provinces and cities, we must pay attention to the youth's needs and aspirations and to the necessary conditions for them to exercise their right to ownership and to fulfill their assigned mission. It follows that the novelty and flexibility of the concept and understanding of the founding of federation chapters in the northern provinces and cities can be seen in the fact that Youth Federation chapters have been set up along the lines of occupation and predilection. Recently, the Youth Federation chapters in Hoan Kiem Ward (Hanoi) and Cau Dat and Diem Nghia Wards (Haiphong) have won success because they have attracted youth to professional and predilection associations which have then been cleverly used by the Youth Union to teach youth politics and ideology and to create conditions for them to assert their desire to become Youth Union members and to participate in activities of the HCMCYU organization.

Another noteworthy factor is the presence of only few youths having a complicated past political background and coming from the exploiter class versus the presence of many whose political and ideological awareness has been heightened; as a result, young people in the northern provinces no longer consider that becoming members of the Youth Federation is tantamount to fulfilling their highest political aspirations (as during the period immediately following the liberation of north Vietnam). The question thus facing us is the necessity of building the Youth Federation with versatility without aridity and rigorism but not so simply and monotonously as to include only a few types of occupational activity because the majority of outside youth will not be attracted to the federation by such a simplicity and monotony.

2. Youth Recruitment in the Federation Must Begin at the Grassroots Level and Meet Requirements of Socioeconomic Development and Maintenance of Security and National Defense in Localities.

In view of the above-mentioned circumstances and characteristics, to successfully build and organize the Vietnam Youth Federation in the northern provinces and cities and to avoid formalism in this task, it is necessary to recruit young people in federation chapters at the grassroots level. The grassroots level is the place where all types of youth (progressive, average and backward) reside, live and work, where the struggle between two roads is being waged and where the three revolutions and two revolutionary strategic missions are being carried out. For this reason, to speak of recruiting young people in the federation is to speak of organizing the federation at the grassroots level and in specific residential and occupational areas. This means that youth must be managed and educated right at each administrative and economic unit and right in each of their residential and occupational areas. In cities, each such unit and area are each subward, ward and people's cell.

In Hoan Kiem Ward (Hanoi), for example, Youth Federation chapters are created in each housing cluster and bloc. Thus, only by gathering young people in the federation at the grassroots level can we determine the nature and name of the federation and hence attract youth into the federation, motivate them to participate in its activities and ensure the federation's longevity. "Federation" is a common name but to attract young people, it must have a specific name suitable to each type of youth. For example, there must be a "Federation of Young Bicycle and Motorcyle Repairmen," a "Federation of Young Stevedores," a "Federation of Young Tailors" and a "Federation of Young Clock and Watch Repairmen." To organize the Youth Federation to suit each type of youth, Youth Union organizations at various levels, especially at the district, ward, village and subward ones, must properly carry out the following tasks:

# a. /Compile statistics and categorize the youth force/

This task must be done first because only by compiling statistics and categorizing the youth can one realize the need to organize and educate youth, determine the form of gathering and build and organize the federation accordingly. It is necessary regularly to ascertain the number of teenagers and youths and that of youths eligible for Youth Union and party membership, of those eligible for union membership only but unqualified for party membership and of those good only for Youth Federation activities but not admissible to union and party membership. Only by doing so can we take the initiative in organizing and educating youths and teenagers and can we accurately foresee the future development of the union and party in the next few years. Therefore, statistic compilation and youth categorization will have a short- and long-term effect on the organizational task of the Youth Union.

b. /Formulate specific themes for Youth Federation activities after the "Cozy Home," "Club," "Dedication" and "Maturity" models/

Practical experiences drawn from federation chapters in Hoan Kiem Ward (Hanoi) and in Haiphong have demonstrated that in order to attract many youths to the federation activities and to make federation chapters lively and prevent them from becoming formalistic, it is necessary--after ascertaining the number of youths to be recruited and after categorizing them -- to determine a specific theme for the activities of each federation chapter to meet the characteristics of each type of youth. This is a basic condition for ensuring the survival and development of federation chapters. If only six specific themes are set forth for federation chapters, it will be impossible to attract and recruit all young people for the socioeconomic, security maintenance and national defense tasks. How to set forth a specific theme for a given federation chapter? It is necessary to ascertain whether it is a federation chapter intended for young people engaged in a particular profession or those having a particular hobby; for example, whether it is a federation chapter including security assault youth or a federation chapter of assault youth with civilized lifestyle, and so on. Only by formulating a specific activity theme for each federation chapter can we make sure that the "Cozy Home," "Club," "Dedication" and "Maturity" models have a paractical meaning and ... " and to the youth's demands and aspirations. Failure to set forth a specitive .heme will make it impossible to form the "Cozy Home" model and, conversely, will lead to formalism, rigorism and aridity.

# c. /Choose cadres for Youth Federation chapters/

Youth Federation chapter cadres must exercise a great meaning and effect on the attraction of young people to the federation. Youth Federation chapter cadres at basic installations must be chosen from among the young people in these installations; only by doing so can we make the federation role fully significant. If the chosen cadres do not come from among each given category of youth, this will make it very difficult to carry out the federation chapter's activities and to effectively recruit young people. The experiences of Phuc Tan Subward (Hanoi) and An Duong Subward (Haiphong) have shown that the founded federation chapters eventually disintegrated because at the outset their cadres were not picked from relevant categories of youth. After these experiences, however, these two subwards picked up the right youths from the category of young people to be recruited (they selected even the so-called "tough" youths) and have thus enabled their federation chapters to survive and carry out activities satisfactorily up to the present. As a result, the youths chosen as cadres for the federation chapters have now matured and become subward cadres such as Vu Danh Dai in Phuc Tan Subward.

3. Responsibilities and Relationships Between Youth Union Organizations and the Youth Federation

The Vietnam Youth Federation is a broad front created by the Youth Union to recruit young people and is also a school to educate and enlighten youth so that they may become members of the Communist Youth Union. Therefore, the Youth Union is responsible for guiding the federation in matters of policy and organization and must constantly and tightly direct the federation program and theme of action. The Youth Union at any given echelon is fully responsible for the affairs regarding the federation at this echelon, for the trend of its activities and for recruiting youth at this level. Whether the federation carries out activities vigorously or weakly is an indication of whether the union at such level has paid attention to recruiting the masses in such area.

So what must be done by the union to guide the federation? After reviewing the situation in many localities, we have found that the union must guide the federation by:

- a. Determining goals and measures to recruit young people according to the quarterly and yearly programs of action and organization of the union and by paying attention to special categories of youth such as those having a religious creed, those of Chinese descent, and the backward and jobless ones;
- b. Assigning qualified and capable union cadres to keep track of the affairs regarding the federation, applying the method of using union cadres to carry out union tasks within the federation and respecting the independent nature of federation organizations;
- c. Defining the responsibility of all union cadres and members for the task of recruiting young people and ensuring that each union union cadre and member becomes a federation cadre to continuously carry out the union activities toward the masses; and

d. Regularly inspecting union organizations at low echelons to see how they have recruited youth and set up Vietnam Youth Federation organizations at the grassroots level.

To recruit the youth is to provide a source of strength for the Youth Union. Only by keeping close contact with young people can our union gradually get rid of bureaucracy, simplism, aridity and rigidity in carrying out its activities and guiding youth activities. This is also a process of understanding policy and organization especially as far as the northern provinces and cities are concerned. Therefore, according to the actual circumstances and conditons, we must study and vividly and dynamically implement the experimental building of the Vietnam Youth Federation with the objective of recruiting and educating young people, increasing the number of union members and building a stable and strong HCMCYU.

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# ECONOMIC PLANNING, TRADE AND FINANCE

WARD RESTRUCTURING IN HO CHI MINH CITY LAUDED

Hanoi DAI DOAN KET in Vietnamese 10 Apr 85 p 2

Article by Viet Thao: "Wards, A Striking Achievement in Ho Chi Minh City"/

[Text] Ward development and consolidation is one of many striking schievements in Ho Chi Minh City, 10 years after the liberation. In 1981, guided by realities confronting the administrative apparatus at the grassroots level, the city made a decision on the ward's structure. Three years later, in February 1985, learning from vanguard, weak and mediocre wards, the city made another decision to improve the ward's structure, adding new regulations that fit in with the current municipal situation, and creating conditions for the wards to develop more vigorously and steadily.

Focusing on an important experience, Nguyen Van Linh, secretary of the VCP municipal committee, said, "To build a strong ward, the basic problem is to trust the masses, rely on them and care for their livelihood." He was correct. Saigon, capital city of the former regime, headquarters for the foreign pirates and local puppets, and a big city with nearly 4 million people, faced in the wake of the liberation, a sea of troubles—a multitude of problems concerning political security, social order, the economy, culture, and the people's livelihood, for which it was difficult to find a solution. Ten years is just a short time in the march of history. Notwithstanding, Ho Chi Minh City has attained a secure position; the revolution is going on uninterrupted, and the people's living standards—albeit not yet high—generally have become more and more stable. Close and distant friends share our joy, while foes chafe at being bitterly defeated and being prevented from seeing their numerous vicious plots through.

One of many crucial reasons for victory is that the Ho Chi Minh City party organization has diligently developed and consolidated the revolutionary administration right from the grassroots level. Proletarian dictatorship in the wards has intensified considerably and has successfully promoted the homogeneous strength of a political system in which "the party leads, the people own, and the state manages." The battlefront of socialism has gained strength and expanded in the political, economic, cultural, security and national defense fields.

Of the city's 237 wards, 90 percent fare rather well. Weak wards account for the remaining 10 percent, and there are no mediocre wards. A salient

feature is that nearly all these moderately good wards have distinguished themselves, not only in administrative management, but also in economic leadership, production growth, market and pricing management, development of consumer and marketing cooperatives, expansion of the socialist trade network, and gradual transformation of the distribution and circulation system within their own areas. These wards have cared for the laboring people's material and spiritual livelihood, and solved little by little scores of exacting social problems and gloomy vestiges left by the former regime. They have addressed order and security problems in a more effective manner. Of the city's 237 wards, 50 percent boast a small-industry and handicraft production value in excess of 20 million dong, while 2 wards have surpassed 50 million dong (calculated on the basis of 1970 fixed prices). Developing production at a fast pace, many wards held classes to teach vocational skills to youths, attracting many laborers. In certain wards, the number of woringage persons still unemployed hovers around 1 percent. Dealing with the private sector, many wards have had experience in ensuring contract compliance, control over the use of electricity, supplies and raw materials, product quality, individual contractors' business revenue, and product delivery, etc. This enabled the state to minimize tax collection losses, and curb and foil bad merchants' practices. Other wards played a major role in pushing back and restricting negative phenomena in the collective and state economic sectors. Still others contributed to tracking down, attacking and eliminating remnants of the imperialist culture, and to building step by step a civilized and wholesome lifestyle. Several wards have mobilized the people to build and renovate schools, classes, day nurseries and kindergartens, cared for the teachers' living standards, established book reading rooms and museums, and set aside places for recreation, entertainment, and cultural activities for children, youths and the elderly. Many wards have built good public health stations and anti-epidemiologic sanitation networks, and taken care of retirees, war invalids, families of war dead, and families with meritorious contributions to the revolution. Laboring people in the wards, in close association with the new regime and the revolutionary administration. have become the latter's ears and eyes, serving as a trapping net to help authorities eliminate reactionary lairs and groups, pirate and burglar gangs known since the day of the U.S.-puppet regime, and points of gambling, prostitution and superstition, thus making street life quieter and purer.

Work at the grassroots level is truly exciting and varied, depending on local situations. With the passage of time, new advantages are added, fostered and expanded. The development process varies from one ward to another. Some wards set out to build a revolutionary force. Others began with production growth. Still others focused on movements to build a new culture and a new man through creative and practical clubs, including clubs to promote talents, physical education and sports, book reading, loans without interest, and a family economy, and so on. Numerous popular strata have been drawn to these clubs, where they contributed their fine voices and dynamic activities, standing together to serve family and national interests. On the basis of local economic and political characteristics, the city can be divided into four categories of wards:

--wards with production and business strength (small industry and handicraft, trade, services or agriculture);

--wards with many bus stations and piers and communication centers;

--wards with many cadres, workers and civil servants at work, or in retirement;

--wards with many people of Chinese origin, or religious followers. A regular and spirited ward activity can be found in the existence of 12,655 neighborhood units and in the tentacular network of the Fatherland Front and mass organizations. It is very difficult to describe all the strikingly superb features of nearly 100 wards which have achieved stability norms. Diversification has stimulated city life to give rise to a succession of revolutionary currents.

Please make a visit to Ward 21, the first ward in city history ever to build 20 apartments for poor laborers and needy families with its own means. Learning creatively from Ward 21, 25 wards in Binh Thanh Precinct have emulated to build more than 100 new houses, contributing with the city to solving housing difficulties, especially problems caused by tattered and falling shanties unfit to be called houses--vestiges of the former regime. Party Secretary General Le Duan paid a tribute to these wards during a visit. In addition to building new houses, the Binh Thanh people have also built and repaired 46 classrooms, 53 roads and 17 bridges. In 1982 and 1983, Binh Thanh's total construction value attained 30 million dong, with the people alone contributing 20 million. Formerly, a locality with many disorderly commercial points, all kinds of eating houses extending to sidewalks and roadways, and hangouts for burglars, thieves, thugs, and prostitutes, Ward 19 of Precinct 11 has turned over a new leaf, building in the first place population clusters living a wholesome and orderly life. The marketing cooperative of Ward 19 has become a leading unit in doing business for its members, and a model of association with villages in Cu Chi and Duyen Hai districts. Agricultural and marine products are shipped from the countryside to the ward for processing to serve the people's livelihood, while industrial goods made in the city are sent to the people in villages and hamlets. Twenty wards in Precinct 1 have applied Ward 19's good experiences. In that ward, there are a feed-processing factory, a farm to raise sows and sell piglets, sauceproducing installations and tailoring stations. In the spring of the Year of the Ox /1985]. Comrade Le Duan called on the marketing cooperative of Ward 19, known for its excellent effort to associate the city with the countryside for reciprocal assistance in developing production and serving the people's livelihood. It is truly infrequent to hear a typical report capable of capturing an audience of nearly 300 representatives of sectors, provinces and cities nationwide, at a national scientific and educational conference, like the report of Ward 24, Tan Binh Precinct. Ward 24 has built a scientific and technical unit of 48 members, including 31 PhD's, MS's, and engineers, and 17 highly skilled workers; and set up 5 groups and specialized sectors -- chemistry, mechanics, electricity, industrial planning and product quality control. The unit has provided assitance to production installations in the ward, raising the latter's production value from 12 million dong in 1930 to 35 million dong in 1984. As a result, the people's living standards are now better. More than 4,000 unemployed persons now have a job, and only some 50 are awaiting employment. Due to the "cultural

gongs" of Ward 7, Go Vap Precinct, and of Ward 10, Precinct 8, the city now has an additional 5,500 units caring for children, and guiding them to observe a rational recreational and educational schedule, live orderly, unite in love, to be docile and polite. Multiplying the experiences of Ward 5, Precinct 11, the entire city has built 2,400 points for cultural activities located in residential areas.

It must be said that all the 12 precincts in the city have their own strong and stable wards, and own valuable experiences. At the outset, however, not all these localities were able to "flow with the stream"; but because of their eagerness to rely on the people and foster the latter's spirit of collective ownership, these wards have overcome numerous difficulties and achieved initial results. Indeed, weak points still are many; but it goes without saying that the ascent of a whole huge collective will be a strong factor pushing the wards to catch up with the general pace of a very dynamic and creative city.

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AGRICULTURE

### BRIEFS

SUMMER-FALL RICE PLANTING—Provinces and cities from Quang Nam-Danang southward have planted 662,648 hectares of summerOfall rice, 103,000 hectares above the previous crop. An Giang, Dong Thap, and Long An Provinces have fulfilled their cultivation plan norms. The eastern provinces of Nam Bo, however, have planted only 50 percent of their planned areas. An Giang, Long An, Hua Giang, Ben Tre, and Dong Thap Provinces have planted high-production summer-fall rice varieties on a vast area. Long An Province has provided 400 kg of fertilizer and insecticide and 50-100 liters of gasoline for each hectare of rice. An Giang has provided grass-roots units with 8,978 metric tons of fertilizer and 92,340 bottles of insecticide. In general, the summerfall rice in southern Vietnam is developing satisfactorily. However, there are harmful insects in some localities. [Text] [Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 2300 CMT 17 Jun 85]

LABOR

YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN PRODUCTION, MANAGEMENT PROVEN EFFECTIVE

Hanoi THANH NIEN in Vietnamese Feb 85 pp 11-12

/Article by Dao Xuan Lung, Youth Union secretary at Bai Bang Paper Mill, Vinh Phu Province: "The Voice of a Production Installation--We Follow Both Directions"

/Text/ The Bai Bang Paper Mill experimentally started production in late 1982. In 1984, a plan to produce 21,600 tons was entrusted to it. Actually, the paper mill is still in an experimental production stage in order to control and adjust its entire production line. Our cadres and workers are working beside specialists coming from many foreign countries.

Only since recently has the Youth? Union acted to bring young people to participate in management. We are willing to use the union tribune to boldly exchange with friends our experiences in participating in our mill management. We must first say that the union Executive Committee at the mill has clearly realized its responsibility for implementing the common plan because youths make up as much as 85.7 percent of all cadres and workers in the mill.

We have received advice about two ways to encourage young workers to play an assault role and take the lead in carrying out the production plan, in opposing manifestations of conservatism and undisciplined freedom and in developing the effective role of Youth Union members in all activities. The first method should be to courageously resolve difficulties facing the mill and the second should be to take into account the fact that the mill has a complete, rather modern production line equipped with machines made in capitalist countries so that youths should be organized to carefully study and assimilate regulations and principles on mechanical operation and maintenance in order to master production and truly participate in management.

This advice has made us ponder and has enabled us to choose a plan of action of our own. We have decided /to focus on serving and stepping up production and removing production difficulties/ [In italics]. Special attention should be paid to helping youths gradually master technique, take the lead in implementing operational safety regulations, and participate little by little in plan execution and economic management. Through this stage, core cadres should be assembled for the movement, union bases stabilized and strengthened and all activities gradually put onto the correct and stable track.

In this spirit, we have continuously kept the production plan of the mill in view and firmly grasped all production developments in order to devise a "direction to launch the assault." In late August /1984/, there was a serious shortage of manpower to carry wood and bamboo (the principal raw materials to make paper pulp) from the Lo River harbor to the mill. Since rafts had already arrived at the harbor, they might be carried away by floods or substantially lost if they were not immediately brought to the mill. Positive action had to be taken in conjunction with the mill to resolve this snag. The union then started an overtime working period according to the "For the Frontline Strong Point of the Fatherland" slogan issued by the union chapter to urge union members and other youth voluntarily to participate in this work. As a result, over 9,000 union members and youths enthusiastically worked for the 3 months of September, October and November and brought 1,200 tons of raw materials to the mill just in time for production purposes. Union chapters in the electric machine section, the vocational school and the paper pulp workshop responded most enthusiastically to the appeal. This was the first time the union contributed to removing a great obstacle and difficulty, thus exerting a favorable influence on the masses and leading circles who gave encouragement afterward by sending 50 outstanding union members to Sam Son beach for rest and recreation and by giving part of the money saving resulting from the overtime work to the union to buy gifts and send them to the border areas.

To apply the second method, we have found that /specific forms should be adopted to clearly show the union activities/ [In italics] along the production line. After studying union activities at the Lam Thao Super /phosphate/ Factory, we have finally decided to set up a scientific and technical youth committee together with youth production shifts.

The scientific and technical youth committee is led by engineer Hoang Van Tru, deputy head of the chemical workshop and concurrently vice chairman of the scientific and technical council of the mill. We have rapidly gathered and created conditions to implement improvement initiatives of young people. In fact, the youth contributed 6 out of 10 highly valuable innovations in 1984. Dao Ngoc Tao, a 25-year old engineer at the motor machine shop, proposed a change in the location of an oil jet, which resulted in increasing the thermal furnace efficiency and saving hundreds of tons of coal and oil a year and an amount of over 900,000 dong.

When starting to set up youth shifts, we had to rely on calculations made by the union executive committee. We chose shift B in the pulping workshop which had 24 union members out of a total of 25 workers and which was producing less than other shifts. We ordered the union chapter to carefully discuss demands and to set forth endeavor targets for this shift to turn it into a "youth production shift." The union chapter in this shift pledged "to strictly implement labor law and machine operation regulations and to avoid stopping machines amid each shift in order to achieve high output."

An outstanding result was the fact that this youth shift set a noteworthy record in September 1984: On 11 September, 68 tons of paper were produced to launch an emulation campaign to set new records. Finally, shift A produced 75 tons during a production period, exceeding by far the assigned norm of 26 tons per shift.

Despite a lack of experience from many points of view, the above-mentioned activities greatly contributed to fulfilling the 1984 plan of the entire mill by 14 December.

From these practical facts, we have concluded that the union activities will realistically contribute to fulfilling the common plan and to gathering young people together even in installations which have just started production provided one boldly and resolutely urges young people to participate in productive and managerial activities and selects an apporpriate form for such participation.

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LABOR

### INDUSTRIAL MANAGEMENT BY YOUNG CADRES BROADENED

Hanoi THANH NIEN in Vietnamese Feb 85 pp 14-15

Article by Ngoc Quyen: "On Union Participation in Forming a Contingent of Young Managerial Cadres in Industrial Enterprises."

[Text] Beginning With the Youth Mass Movement

For the first time, a conference of young managerial cadres was held in June 1982 in Ho Chi Minh City with the participation of 400 delegates representing 2,068 production team heads, managers and directors, all of them aged under 35.

At the second conference of young managerial cadres held on 6 December 1984, the number of young managerial cadres increased 2.6-fold--an encouraging figure, but the true problem facing management lay in the managers' qualifications.

It must be said that the Youth Union's movement to participate in enterprise management is one of the valuable initiatives taken to implement the sixth resolution of the party Central Committee on economic management improvement.

The presence of young industrial management cadres is one of the concrete results of the union movement to participate in economic management.

Most of these young cadres are union and party members having just matured from the union movement.

Enterprises are now organizing youth-managed collectives such as youth teams, youth workshops, young tractor-driver teams, young truck-driver teams, youth-operated factories and so on. Outstanding youths are picked out of these collectives and recommended to directors. The union at the Cuu Long Kenaf Combine has recommended 27 brilliant youths and that at the Hong Gam Combine has recommended 300 outstanding youths.

According to data compiled by the Industrial Committee of the Ho Chi Minh Municipal Youth Union, there are now 628 youth production collectives which have made important contributions to setting progressive norms, to formulating and executing plans and to implementing the system of accepting contract work and paying wages according to production. Here is an example: The youth-operated machine section of workshop No 1 of the net weaving factory in the

Sixth Precinct has implemented the progressive norm of one man per one machine in one shift in lieu of the former norm of 2.5 men per one machine in one shift. This progressive norm has since been applied by other union cells in the factory and used by the director to draw up a new plan with a norm twice as high as before.

Almost all youth workshops have contractually agreed to raise a wage fund and to implement the product contract system by 100 percent. These are "brilliant achievements in the struggle against excessive administrative bureaucracy."

The presence of 5,412 enterprise management cadres from team heads up to directors, all aged under 35, constitutes an assault force to improve economic management in this young but always creative city.

Though still insufficient, that number has shown that the new mission of the union is "to act as a force to regularly provide capable cadres and union members for the enterprise management mechanism" (Decision No 19 of the Ho Chi Minh Municipal Party Committee on the organizational mechanism of industrial enterprises).

Three years ago, Truong Ke Chau, now 27, graduated from the economy college and is now director of a youth textile workshop in the well-known kenaf weaving factory called Textile Mill No 13 (this number is considered unlucky by many westerners). After being assigned to the factory accounting department, Truong Ke Chau often thought about this number and wondered why he "had not been admitted to the union membership."

Only when the youth movement to participate in the factory production management soared high with the successive creation of two youth-managed workshops—a weaving and a yarn spinning one—did Truong Ke Chau really stop worrying about the unlucky number 13 because a decision was suddenly made to appoint him director of the youth workshops: Under this management, the workshops brilliantly fulfilled the plan and with self-confidence, he wrote an application for the union membership. This young manager said afterward: "I have realized that a manager cannot do without politics."

Recently, on 6 March 1984, Truong Ke Chau took the oath of allegiance before the party banner only 3 months after his admission to the union membership. He is one of the young party members of the Nguyen Van Cu class. His admission to party membership shows that his effective management has been highly valued.

It can be said that the path followed by Chau to reach maturity 9 years after the city liberation is the road leading to participation in management. Simultaneously with him, however, another group of young industrial managers have taken a different road—that is, direct participation in labor.

### Baptism by Fire

The common characteristic of all young industrial managers in Ho Chi Minh City is the fact that they have been "thrown" into the most difficult areas in the past 9 years. Though the working method of the Thanh Cong Textile Mill has

been highly controversial, one will feel more confident on visiting the factory and looking at its managers: the director and the two workshop supervisors are not yet over 40, which means that by 30 April 1975, they were still of an age suitable for union membership.

In fact, had nearly one-third of the machines in the yarn spinning factory of Kenaf Weaving Factory No 13 not been worn out, had the workers not been tired and had their low productivity not led to an insufficient supply of yarn to the weaving workshop, the yarn spinning workshop would not have been entrusted to the youth management and it would have been unnecessary to transfer to this workshop [for management] a 25-year old youth [Truong Ke Chau] who was then not yet a member of the Youth Union but had great managerial potential.

Farther away, at the Vung Tau oil and natural gas industry construction site, had it not been necessary to complete on schedule the building sliding tracks leading to the offshore drilling platform, a union secretary called Dinh Van Sau would not have quickly become vice director of an enterprise to assume responsibility for building a project such as sliding tracks for drilling platforms which requires high technology.

And recently, Nguyen Minh Vuong, head of a wiring team and a turner who refuses to be overwhelmed by difficulties, has been assigned to the post of vice director of the southern electricity branch where many negative practices needed to be eliminated and where there were very few party members.

According to the data we have collected, many of the 5,412 young industrial managers were not many years ago among the youngsters who were flabbergasted at the sight of the caps fitted with ear-flaps and the rubber sandals of the troops coming to liberate their city but who are now behaving with poise in their new position as leaders of production collectives. Difficult challenges have continuously assailed them, but this is precisely what allows us to speak about a young group that is being shaped by realities into "knights" who know how to use the sharp "sword" of management.

Learning Is the Duty of Young Cadres

Almost all the young cadres we met at factories gave the same answer: What they lack most is /experience/ [In italics]. This is quite understandable because experience usually is a byproduct of the aging process.

In our opinion, however, what young managerial cadres -- those who have been continuously in contact with realities and have matured through the mass movement--need most at present is /knowledge/ /In italics/.

According to statistics published by the Ho Chi Minh Municipal Youth Union at the recent "Conference of Young Managerial Cadres," nearly 90 percent of 5,412 young managerial cadres did not graduate from level-III general schools. This ratio would be higher if special managerial training were taken into consideration. For example, none of the total 101 young cadres at the Chemical Construction and Installation Corp had been specially trained in management. Even at the Hong Gam Enterprise Federation where there are over 1,000 young cadres, the majority of them did not attend any management school.

Under such circumstances, the Municipal Youth Union's cooperation with the Economic College in opening 2 economic management schools for nearly 800 young cadres in July 1982 was a highly significant effort. It is regrettable that such endeavor has not been made regularly. At present, some enterprise management cadres with bright prospects—such as Nguyen Van Tri, director of the weaving workshop at the Thanh Cong Textile Mill, and Nguyen Hung Viet, assistant director of the Cuu Long Laundry Detergent Factory—are the first to attend on—the—job economic management training courses on recommendation of the Municipal Youth Union.

We once called on Mrs Nguyen Thi Kim Oanh, manager of a youth-operated weaving workshop of Textile Mill No 13, when she was reading a book while feeding her child. She complained that ever since her appointment to the managerial post, she hardly had time to read books and that she found it all the more difficult to understand the contents of management books because formerly she did not complete the level-III general education. She added that she wanted now to resume study. It is true that our young cadres lack time, experience, tact in human relations and the knowhow to cope with various situations. Nevertheless, by improving the youth's scientific knowledge, we will help them shorten the time necessary to accumulate experience.

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LABOR

# CONSTRUCTION LABOR UNIONS ADVOCATE ADDITIONAL EFFORT

Hanoi XAY DUNG in Vietnamese Apr 85 pp 1-3

[Unattributed article: "Methods of Organizing Worker-Civil Servant Movement and Strengthening Construction Union Activity During 1985]

[Text] During 1985, the economic situation of the country is still imbalanced. There are still many difficulties in production, construction and the lives of the workers and civil servants. However, 1985 is a year of many important political events, the year concluding the 1981-1985 5-year state plan and of preparations for the Sixth National Party Congress and the 1986-1990 plan. It is also a year of continuing to implement Resolution 6 and develop Resolution 7 of the Party Central Committee and Resolutions 156 and 166 of the Council of Ministers. With these special characteristics, the executive committee of the Vietnam Construction Union has defined the 1985 mission of the union at all echelons of the sector as:

"From the primary to the central level, the union must closely follow the resolutions of the party and the economic mechanism improvement line and policy of the state, maintain close contact with the major objectives and norms recorded in the state plan of each unit and the entire sector in order to organize the revolutionary movement of the workers and civil servants, and exploit the four capability sources; work urgently and creatively with efforts to successfully complete the 1985 state plan; participate in and implement the positions and policies on improving capital construction economic management; improve state-operated industrial management and enthusiastically participate in the movement to protect the fatherland and maintain political security and social order and security; and join the local government at the equivalent level in establishing and implementing policy systems and caring for and improving the lives of the workers and civil servants. Through that, build the primary level union, provide advanced training to cadres, and raise the capabilities and operational effectiveness of the union at all levels in the sector."

The primary methods of organizing the movement for workers and civil servants and strengthening every activity of the construction union for 1985 consist of:

1. Concentrate mobilization of the workers and civil servants to participate in and implement the positions and policies on improving capital construction economic management and state-operated industrial management, extensively organize the "High Labor Productivity-Excellent Management" emulation movement, and strive to complete and exceed the sector's 1985 state plan.

The struggle objective of the entire sector during 1985 is to concentrate every equipment, labor, material and vehicle means to totally and uniformly complete key projects and vital construction material products that are significantly assisting to rebalance the national economy and improve the lives of the laboring people such as: completing every related task on the Hoa Binh Hydroelectric project with the phase 2 stemming of the Da River assured during the 1985-1986 dry season; completing the construction, installation and test operation of boiler 3 at the Pha Lai Thermoelectric Plant; and completing excavation and construction of the energy line and primary plant foundation of the Tri An Hydroelectric project. Accelerate the rate of construction and installation at the Uong Bi Screening Plant and Cam Pha Central Machinery projects, and at the projects supporting agriculture and production of consumer and export goods. Complete the delivery of 130,000 square meters of housing in Hanoi and complete the political support projects of the party and state. In the production of construction materials, strive to increase the output of cement from 1.7 to 1.9 million tons, and fulfill production norms for brick, tile, porcelain, sand and gravel in accordance with the state plan.

In conservation practice, every cadre and worker in all fields of work in the sector must be concerned about and thoroughly implement conservation policy. Practice conservation in production and in consumption. Practice conservation in every step from design to construction and from shipping, receiving and maintenance to use. Practice conservation by mass movements, by management methods and by developing innovations and applying technical advances. Resolutely strive to resist every expression of waste, corruption and material misappropriation. Every unit must assure conservation of 5 to 10 percent of supplied materials in order to produce additional products.

It is necessary to fully understand the significance of developing the creative capabilities of the primary level and exploiting the four capability sources in order to promote production and improve the standard of living. Resist every expression of an ideology of relying on and waiting for the state to resolve problems. Launch a movement of the entire sector producing construction materials in order to thoroughly exploit available sources of raw materials in the local area, and exploit the manpower, material and vehicle capabilities of each unit in the entire sector aimed at overcoming the imbalance of construction materials in installation and construction and to provide jobs for the surplus labor force.

In conjunction with promoting production, active efforts must simultaneously be made to stabilize and gradually improve the lives of the workers and civil servants. First of all, we must establish and achieve policy systems on wages and cash awards, supervise and achieve other labor policy systems related to the labor obligations and interests of the worker and civil servant, and assure the average wage level of one worker supporting one dependent as recorded in Resolution 6 of the Party Central Committee.

Organization of the "High Productivity-Excellent Management" emulation movement in efforts to complete and exceed planned levels must be closely connected with organized achievement of new management mechanisms with a total shift from bureaucratic and subsidized management methods to socialist economic accounting. The objective of high productivity, quality and economic effectiveness must be used as a yardstick for measuring the progress of the emulation movement among the workers and civil servants. Therefore, during the process of organizing the "High Productivity-Excellent Management" emulation movement, unions at all levels must implement the following necessary methods:

-Improve the quality of worker-civil servant conferences and apply appropriate and effective forms of democratic activity. There are still many enterprises at the present time that have not held their beginning of the year worker-civil servant conferences in order to encourage the workers and civil servants to participate in formulating and discussing methods for achieving the 1985 plan. Unions must hold joint discussions with the enterprise directors on plans for thoroughly preparing to hold worker-civil servant conferences from the team level up at the beginning of the 2nd quarter of 1985. Based on the four plan objectives: the regulatory plan of the state supplying sufficient materials and energy, the regulatory plan of the state supplying a portion of the materials and energy, the supplementary plan of the enterprise being self-sufficient in materials and energy, and the plan for improving and raising the living standards of the workers and civil servants, unions must guide the workers and civil servants in discussions to suggest plans and methods for exploiting the four capability sources.

Corporation, general corporation, enterprise federation and local construction sector unions are the representatives of the workers and civil servants and have great responsibility in supervising and directing worker-civil servant conferences in the enterprises. Unions must select one unit as a supervision point for gaining experience while simultaneously formulating plans for united guidance with methods for close inspection in order to raise the quality of the worker-civil servant conference at the primary level. On the other hand, general corporation, enterprise federation and local construction sector unions must gather all proposals for the lower level worker-civil servant conferences for presentation to the next higher echelon and hold joint conferences with the general directors to resolve the difficulties and answer the primary level units.

-Continue to organize the "High Productivity-Excellent Management" emulation movement within the scope of the entire sector. Bring the emulation movement down to the production team, unit and shop, closely connect planning with economic accounting, and closely connect emulation with distribution of wages and cash awards in the production teams and units.

General corporation, enterprise federation and local construction sector unions must coordinate with the equivalent level local administration in the advanced training of specialized cadres and unspecialized members of the union standing committee from the enterprise level up in knowledge on economic accounting, contract policies, recruitment, dismissal, enterprise profits, wage deductions, award funds, welfare funds and methods of dividing wages and cash awards.

-Develop the association emulation movement.

At the present time, many units in the sector have economic contract relations with enterprises inside and outside the sector. To achieve form coordination and mutual assistance in resolving difficulties and promoting production, primary level unions must join local administrations in active discussions with

nearby enterprises and unions in order to sign association emulation pledges. Some major products or projects demand the synchronized coordination of many different enterprises, sectors and trades from the primary to the central level with the Ministry and sector union holding active discussions with related sectors to organize a joint sector emulation movement. Emulation association must be effective and based on economic contracts in order to clarify the responsibilities and interests of each party. Periodic review and supervision of pledge achievement is necessary.

During the process of organizing the "High Productivity-Excellent Management" emulation movement, unions at all levels must maintain close contact with the theme and form of association emulation and Vietnamese-Soviet friendship emulation. Special concern must be given to close supervision of Vietnamese-Soviet friendship emulation on the Pha Lai thermoelectric, Hoa Binh hydroelectric, and Tri An hydroelectric projects, the Hanoi labor culture group, the Lao Cai apatite project and the Bim Son Cement Plant.

In conjunction with that, unions at all levels must give concern to firmly supervising the movement to develop innovations and apply technical advances, and must continue to build and strongly develop the emulation movement with advanced models.

2. Promote the emulation movement to support agricultural production and aid the border provinces.

Continuing to implement Resolution 3 of the Executive Committee of the Confederation of Trade Unions on the emulation movement to support agriculture, primary level unions of units constructing agricultural support projects must encourage the workers and civil servants to well-achieve the guideline of concentrated, urgent and synchronized construction to rapidly bring the project into production and use.

Local construction sector unions must organize economic and emulation association to assist agricultural cooperatives producing construction materials to expand the rural tilisation movement.

The border situation has constant tension caused by the Beijing expansionists. Primary level unions of units engaged in construction in the border provinces must participate in formulating and encouraging the workers and civil servants to achieve three-situation plans, and educate and encourage them to simultaneously promote production, maintain combat readiness, provide combat support and fight skillfully. Unions must coordinate with the Communist Youth Union in encouraging the young workers to conscientiously participate in the self-defense forces, military training and combat bunker construction; and coordinate with the local administration in good propaganda efforts to defeat the enemy plots to divide the ethnic minorities and conduct multifaceted sabotage.

Primary level central or local unions in rear area provinces assigned to support the border provinces must launch "For the front line of the fatherland" emulation, swiftly transport and rapidly construct projects for the border, strengthen the material base, promote production and support combat; educating

the workers and civil servants to fulfill their military obligations, participate in combat and well-achieve army rear area policy.

Concerning political and ideological education, under the leadership of party committee echelons, unions must well-propagandize and disseminate Resolutions 6 and 7 of the Party Central Committee and Resolutions 156 and 166 of the Council of Ministers on improving economic management in industry and construction. Cause the workers and civil servants to clearly recognize the difficulties of the nation, to recognize that our party and state are determined to bring the economy through every difficulty, and to simultaneously recognize the insidious plots of the Beijing expansionists. From that, further increase their enthusiastic confidence in and assist in well-achieving the economic management improvement policies of the state while simultaneously raising their spirit of revolutionary vigilance to smash the psychological warfare arguments of the enemy.

Illuminated by Resolutions 6 and 7 of the party, with the self-reliant will and traditions of withstanding hardship of the workers and civil servants in the construction sector, the construction sector worker and civil servant movement will make many active contributions toward completing and exceeding the norms of the 1985 plan and the third 5-year plan of the sector, and make new achievements to celebrate major holidays during 1985.

POPULATION, CUSTOMS AND CULTURE

## TEN YEARS OF IMPLEMENTATION OF POLICY TOWARD RELIGION

Hanoi DAI DOAN KET in Vietnamese 10 Apr 85 p 6

Excerpts of interview with Dang Thanh Chon, member of the Presidium of the Vietnam Fatherland Front Central Committee, chief of the Religion Department at the Premier's Office; date and place unspecified?

[Text] Question: Please comment on the implementation of the policy toward religion in the past 10 years, since national unification?

Answer: First of all, it is necessary to sum up our party and state policy toward religion from the beginning to the present in these wards—guaranteeing freedom of belief and freedom of nonbelief to all citizens; allowing normal faith activities of all religions to be carried out according to the constitution and laws of the Vietnam Socialist Republic; closely uniting compatriots following a religion with those following no religion within the Vietnamese national community in building socialism successfully and defending the socialist fatherland vigorously; and struggling to eliminate plots and maneuverings of imperialism and reactionaries misusing religion to divide and undermine the Vietnamese people's revolutionary undertaking, and sap world peace and security.

We can affirm that, in the past 10 years, our party and state have never stayed away, or strayed, from the fundamental goals of the above policy toward religion. Instead, they have attained them in many respects:

1. We have achieved great success in uniting nonreligious with religious people within the Vietnam Fatherland Front. The present situation is in stark contrast to the past: 10 years ago, when the south still was under the U.S.-puppet oppressive yoke, the situation was thought to be almost beyond repair—disunity between nonreligious and religious people and between north and south, confrontation between theists and atheists, and conflicts between religions and between religious sects. But, due to correct party and state policies and lines, and to the Vietnam Fatherland Front's wholehearted effort to organize, mobilize and help, people from different faiths and different religions have been able to unite within a big national family, fully aware that they are all descendants of the Vietnamese heroic race, and citizens of the glorious Vietnamese fatherland, and that, as such, they are under obligation to stand together to build and defend their beloved Vietnamese socialist

fatherland. Hence, all misunderstandings, prejudices and mistrust, generated by vestiges of the "divide and rule" policy of colonialism and imperialism, have been gradually overcome by love and reason, and through a realistic struggle aimed at building a new life under a new regime—our people's regime of collective ownership.

- 2. Various echelons, sectors, mass organizations and the front have largely succeeded in mobilizing religious believers and clergy to take part in patriotic movements, working alongside the entire people to achieve economic and social state norms. It is encouraging to note that, in many areas with large numbers of religious believers, a mass revolutionary movement has come into existence with a fervor comparable to that in other areas. Local cadres have emerged from that movement, multiplying continually and maturing rapidly, and acting as a very valuable core for the revolution in religious areas.
- 3. Striving to grasp party policies and lines and state laws on religion, party, administration, Front and mass organization echelons have helped religious believers and church organizations carry out normal religious activities, and redress deviations not in keeping with the constitution and state laws, thus making religious activities of the churches more and more wholesome.
- 4. Furthermore, administration echelons together with religious believers, patriotic clergy and genuine churchmen have always been vigilant, struggling to thwart plots and maneuverings of imperialists and reactionaries misusing religion to undermine our people's revolutionary undertaking. Many budding counterrevolutionary organizations, and many espionage cases, big and small, have been detected and prosecuted, while a number of reactionary elements wearing the masks of religion to oppose and destroy the revolution have been exposed and eliminated—all of this due to the participation of religious believers' in the struggle, and the unanimous support of clergy, and genuine and patriotic churchmen.

Nevertheless, apart from these achievements in implementing party and state religious policy, a number of party and administration echelons, especially those at the grassroots level, have not understood thoroughly the views of the masses in religious policy, the characteristics of each church, and the believers' emotional attachment to their religion; at the same time, they lacked vigilance in the face of enemy plots and maneuverings, abusing religion to split broad national unity, and taking advantage of the cadres' negligence and misjudgment in implementing religious policy to incite the masses, and separate religious believers from our party and state. Thus, at times and places, these cadres violated party and state religious policy, either plainly or rudely, hurting the believers' emotional ties to their faith, or displayed lax vigilance toward reactionary elements hiding themselves behind church organizations.

Question: What were the reactions of religious believers to party and state religious policy?

Answer: Most followers of religion, whether they are Buddhists, Catholics, or from other faiths, are laboring people. All in all, they have three very sacred, but also very vital, desires. First, they want independence, unification, freedom, and peace for their country, that everyone has the right as masters of society and of their own lives. Second, they want everybody to have enough food and clothing, and a civilized and happy life, with no more oppression and exploitation of men by men. Third, they want freedom of belief so that they can follow the faith of their own choosing.

These fundamental desires of followers of religion are fully and entirely satisfied by party and state general policies and specific policy on religion. Thus, it is no surprise to see that, since liberation of the south and unification of the fatherland, followers of religion have promptly sided with the revolution, warmly supporting and enthusiastically achieving party and state goals and policies. The accomplishments and advances already made in implementing the policy on religion, as noted above, amply attest to the kind of response by followers of religion to that policy. Right after the south was liberated, our party and state policy toward religion was proclaimed throughout the nation. Followers of religion and genuine churchmen unanimously endorsed that policy, seeing it as a direction-showing compass needle, and a guiding light for religions to function normally and in the right direction in a sovereign and independent country. Since then, religious believers have felt reassured, continuing to practice their religion with confidence, and no longer resort to the distorting, calumniating, and blackmailing propaganda of reactionary elements, who still cling to their anticommunism, and stubbornly refuse to give up working as henchmen for imperialism and colonialism.

That the religious believers' spirit of collective ownership and revolutionary vigilance has been on the rise is a very encouraging factor. This does
not mean, however, that all of them are now immune to propaganda by evil
elements and domestic and foreign reactionaries—a situation leading at
times and places to a feeling of confusion, worry and skepticism about party
and state religious policy. Hence, we should patiently explain and strictly
and fully implement that unchanging party and state policy on religion, to
enable the faithful to rely on it without a shadow of doubt, while resolutely
struggling to defeat the psychological war activities of reactionaries and
hirelings of imperialism and of Chinese chauvinistic expansionists, who have
been sabotaging our people's revolutionary undertaking day and night.

Just causes will undoubtedly triumph!

Love and reason will undoubtedly win the people's hearts!

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POPULATION, CUSTOMS AND CULTURE

### BUDDHIST SUPPORT FOR GOVERNMENT PRAISED

Hanoi DAI DOAN KET in Vietnamese 10 Apr 85 pp 6, 7

Article by Tong Ho Cam, member of the standing central committee of the Vietnam Buddhist Church: "Changes With Each Spring"

[Text/ People in the southern provinces in general, and in Ho Chi Minh City in particular, are celebrating with fervor the 10-year anniversary of the liberation, 30 April 1975-30 April 1985.

Under the new socialist changes, we Buddhists—bonzes and laics alike—in the Vietnam Buddhist Church, with our warmhearted patriotic tradition, have united with the rest of the national community, and have resolutely contributed to building happiness for the entire people and defending the socialist father—land.

Since the great 1975 spring victory, every year at this time my heart was filled with seething joy, as if I still heard the hurrahs of the general offensive leading to total victory, and routing the war of invasion and the neocolonialist oppressive yoke of U.S. imperialism.

In my opinion, with the end of sufferings and humiliations, the rise of glorious voices nationwide, and the splendor of the people's heroism, certainly no one among those who put their trust in Buddha's dedication to saving people from miseries, and who respect morality, failed to discern that burst of optimism as a guiding light for their faith. Buddhism is a major component of the broad national unity; however, before the liberation, because of invasive and oppressive political influences, it was somewhat divided, resulting in a number of Buddhists losing their own way. Fortunately, the historic event which led to national liberation and unification, also promptly led to unification of Vietnamese Buddhism. During that historic spring, the ranks of bonzes, nuns and Buddhist faithful adjusted their vision, and with a willingness to turn over a new leaf, saw clearly what they should do, in terms of ecclesiastical and secular work, to fit in with the new situation.

As for the role of the Buddhist Church within Uncle Ho's national community, we still certainly recall the grain shortage during the first few years following the liberation, and that the pagodas of Trung Tam (Go Vap District),

Huynh Kim (Go Vap), and other ward and district temples took upon themselves to process noodles and foods. We still certainly recall that the pagodas of Tu Duc (Ward 3), Phap Quang (Ward 8), Sung Duc (Ward 11), and Tu Nghiem (Ward 10) have invested capital in the production of fine woven rattan and bamboo finished products for export. Phuoc Long (Ward 6), Phap Van (Ward 3), Hue Lam (Ward 11), and Phuoc Tu (Ward 8) pagodas have turned out food products, such as thick soybean sauce and salted fermented beancurd, achieving self-sufficiency in Buddhist vegetarian food, and also supplying it to local consumer cooperatives for sale to the laboring people. Most prominent is the Hoa Sen Cooperative of the municipal Buddhist organization. In terms of development, it is not yet strong; but in the past few years, with the diligent assistance of the municipal consumer and marketing cooperative management board, and the warm support of Buddhist cooperative members, it has not ceased striving to grow, strengthening economic and technical management, and multiplying business capital, in line with plan and socialist goals. That the Hoa Sen Cooperative has opened factories to purify yellow sugar and has expanded thick soybean sauce production and agricultural products processing attests to its dynamism -- a determination to make more high-quality and low-cost food products to serve the legitimate interests of bonzes, nuns, Buddhist cooperative members and the laboring people; and an eagerness to fulfill obligations assigned by the Municipal Laic Buddhist Church Executive Committee and the Municipal Consumer and Marketing Cooperative.

Furthermore, quite a few young bonzes and nuns and a very large number of laics have become workers and civil servants in various sectors, mass organizations, corporations, and enterprises, distinguishing themselves as emulation combatants and vanguard laborers.

Pagodas and Buddhist families have shown a readiness to mobilize the young generation to volunteer for the frontline of the fatherland, as demonstrated by the campaign to build antiaircraft works in the city in the past, and other campaigns to bid farewell to departing draftees. Especially, along with the localities, Buddhist circles have responded favorably to two drives designed to invite people to buy bonds to build the fatherland, achieving very good results in the process.

Let's set aside some time for visiting typical pagodas and monasteries. For many years in a row, Vinh Nghiem Pagoda has been a center for summer religious meditation, attended by the largest number of Buddhist clerics, and presided over by Venerable Thich Thien Hao, vice chairman of the Central Executive Council and vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the Municipal Buddhist Church, whose presence enabled the sequestered participants to observe correctly Buddha's teachings and the conclave to reach organization perfection.

At Ngoc Phuong Monastery, known for its fine confectionary and needlework, nuns are busy making pastry and fruit preserves, under Chief Bonzess Huynh Lien's diligent supervision. The nunnery has been expanded.

Quang Huong-Gia Lam Pagoda, with a renovated shrine and a newly built mausoleum for the late Buddhist Church chairman, the Ven Thich Tri Thu, is

an august and serene place of worship, where devotees and disciples, in line with the venerable's will, have been striving to foster a virtuous religious lifestyle, to learn from Buddha's teachings and to help the people. Trung Tam Monastery, with new spacious and superb buildings, houses many student bonzes in a splendor unseen before the liberation. The Van Hanh Buddhist University now is the School of Superior Buddhist Studies, Level II, under the direction of the Ven Minh Chau. The school, where the venerable lives, and where he and other priests conduct big annual Buddhist events, also is a place to hold educational meetings of a lofty spiritual nature to promote understanding about the new regime, the new culture and the new man.

Xa Loi Pagoda (where Office 2 of the Vietnam Buddhist Church is located), and An Quang Pagoda (which houses the office of the executive committee of the Ho Chi Minh City Municipal Buddhist Church) are well-led and -organized centers for Buddhist activities.

In all municipal precincts and districts, religious observances have been more and more conform to the Vietnam Buddhist Church Charter, and have become part and parcel of mass organizations, due to the wholehearted guidance and determination of boards of representatives appointed by the municipal Buddhist organization. Objects, statues and images used for worship have become less cumbersome and ill-looking. Praying liturgy has gradually separated itself from monotonous and lamenting intonations, focusing instead on concentrating will, keeping the minds clear and developing intelligence. Buddhist clerics and faithful have been advised to redress and curb the spread of expensive, superstition-laced ceremonies, presumably designed to give relief to the deceased in the other world.

With society going ahead and with places of worship showing brightness, purity and trustworthiness, Buddhist priests now are really open-minded and optimistic, and are confident that their faith will develop with every passing day.

Whenever spring is back, municipal Buddhist circles around me, just like nature, kindle a current of vitality and harmony, in keeping with a revival of social life. Today, I feel that the man-to-man relationship reflects the dialectical unity between the general and the particular, and the inseparability between a part and the whole, in total contrast to the noxious context of oppression and divisiveness prior to the liberation.

A return of spring is an occasion for the nation's past quintessences to adorn themselves with quintessences of the modern world's beauty; it also is an occasion for Buddhist faithful to be more imbued with the everlasting youthfulness of Buddhist philosophy, while being aware of the fact that the entire people are moving ahead, amid a bloomy season of the beloved fatherland.

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# POPULATION, CUSTOMS AND CULTURE

# REPORT ON INTENSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF YOUTH'S NEW LIFESTYLE

Hanoi THANH NIEN in Vietnamese Feb 85 pp 7-10

[Article by Tran Phuong Thac, secretary of HCMCYU Central Committee: "Continuously Step Up the Movement To Build the Socialist New Lifestyle Among the youth;" --Report at Conference on Building Socialist New Lifestyle Among the Youth held on 3 January 1985 in Ho Chi Minh City by the Union Central Committee and the Ministry of Culture; Ref THANH NIEN January 1985 issue]

/Text/ Guideline For Stepping Up the Movement To Build the Socialist New Lifestyle Among Young People in 1985-1986

The resolution of the fourth party Central Committee plenum states: "All sectors that carry out activities in society have the duty to build the socialist lifestyle among the laboring people whether they are performing labor, executing tasks or engaged in mental activities or social relations."

In its chapter on the new lifestyle, Resolution No 159/HDBT of 19 December 1983 of the Council of Ministers calls for "attention to be paid to the most important elements--youth and teenagers."

Fully reflecting the above-mentioned viewpoint and strictly implementing Directive No 51-CT/TW of the party Central Committee Secretariat and Circular No 07 of the Central Guidance Committee, the HCMCYU Central Committee and the Ministry of Culture are jointly motivating youths and teenagers throughout the country to step up the movement to build the socialist new lifestyle with the following themes and measures:

### -- Themes of the Movement

In its Directive No 51, the party Central Committee Secretariat asserts: "The movement for the new lifestyle has been developed across the country in the past few years. To step up this movement, many provinces and cities have taken practical measures such as starting to formulate new wedding and funeral rites, transforming old customs and habits, developing new ones and shaping a new culture."

At the same time, the party Central Committee Secretariat points out: "The old lifestyle and customs and habits are still rampant and the reactionary and

depraved culture has not yet been wiped out; since recently, bad customs, superstitions and other social evils have again been spreading in some localities."

In strict execution of the above-mentioned directive, young people of all strata throughout the country must satisfactorily implement the following themes during the 2-year period of 1985-1986:

I. Development of the New Lifestyle for Young People According to the Demands of Labor Performance and Combat Activities:

Developing the socialist lifestyle for each youth is the common responsibility of the entire society but it is of prime importance that each Youth Union member tries to train himself or herself. This must be considered to be the subject matter of the daily educational effort and other activities of union organizations and of the Youth Federation.

In the course of the new lifestyle movement, it is necessary to help youth to form a living pattern according to the following standards:

- -- Have a correct concept of labor and do one's utmost at work to build and defend the fatherland for the sake of one's own existence and that of the whole society.
- --Clearly distinguish between labor performance and exploitation, respect the laborer and the result of labor, and work with creativeness, discipline, technique, high productivity and good quality.
- -- Have a concept of collective labor, protect public property, strictly practice thrift and oppose theft and shoddy work.
- --Learn with enthusiasm and with a sound motive and serious attitude; ponder, do research and display creativeness in study to obtain the best result and consider it most important to learn by oneself and to train oneself in carrying out daily activities.
- --Satisfactorily fulfill the military obligation and stand ready to go and fight to defend the socialist fatherland and fulfill one's noble international duties.
- --Live a simple, thrifty and wholesome daily life; wear neat, clean, harmonious and elegant but decent clothes and haistyle compatible with working conditions and economic situation and deal with other people in a civilized, courteous and compassionate manner and with respect for reason and justice.
- --Arrange dwelling and working places rationally, orderly, hygienically and scientifically and get into the habit of observing working hours and of working urgently and with versatility.

To urge young people to help each other reach the above-mentioned standards, special attention must be paid to setting examples of good persons and good deeds everywhere and among all types of youth. It is necessary to form

beautiful, attractive images of youth trying to acquire the said values. On the other hand, social opinion must be urged to criticize and condemn strongly the abject way of life of certain young people.

These tasks must be done regularly, continuously, lengthily and concretely within every youth collective and family and by every individual youth both in each installation and throughout the country.

# II. Development of the New Lifestyle in Weddings

A wedding is a joyful and happy event for a young couple, their families and the entire society. Developing a new, good and beautiful custom for weddings is an indication of a civilized society and means also an emphasis on human values. Therefore, weddings must have a deep political, economic, cultural and social significance in the present situation.

It is first necessary to educate unmarried youths to inculcate in them a correct concept of love and marriage, a full sense of the need to fulfill their personal responsibilities and obligations to their families and society and self-conscientiously to marry exactly at the age indicated by law (minimum 24-25 for males and 22-24 for females); they must also have an essential knowledge of the roles of husbands, wives, fathers and mothers, of the scientific method of raising and educating children, of male and female activities and of population control.

Young people must exercise their right to ownership by organizing weddings according to the new lifestyle and by strictly implementing marriage registration according to the law on marriage and family. The Youth Union and the cultural sector are mainly responsible for aiding every young couple to organize their wedding including the marriage registration ceremony and the subsequent festivities in strict accordance with the new lifestyle, to make this event merry, wholesome, simple and economical so that it will have a deep impression on the newly married couple.

The cultural sector and the Youth Union must help married youths organize their family life in a scientific manner and must urge husbands and wives to live in harmony, to respect and help each other do both household chores and collective jobs, to develop good relationships with neighbors, to set a good example by pledging to apply the family planning method (to have only one child during their youth) and to paying attention to creating conditions for their children to go to school and participate in social activities.

It is necessary firmly to oppose old and bad customs relating to wedding and also to put an end to infringements of the law on marriages and family and to prevent early and forcible marriage, divorces and unplanned childbirths among young couples.

Organization and guidance must be provided to draw experiences from each wedding season so as to bring about a new change in each area and each category of youth.

III. Build an Orderly, Hygienic and Civilized Lifestyle in Public Places

Lifestyle in public places is a yardstick of the cultural and civilized level of each individual, locality, nation and country.

The theme of the development of the new lifestyle in public places includes the maintenance of social order, communication safety and good cultural sights, the preservation of wholesome living environments and the formation of a civilized and courteous behavior in human relationships and treatment. The development of the new lifestyle in public places must first focus on the following fundamental tasks:

--In daily social communications and relationships, young people must be advised to behave correctly and courteously in a civilized manner according to socialist ethics and culture; for example, they must know when to say "thank you" and "excuse me." When necessary, they must show love for small children and respect for old people, for women, for persons having rendered a meritorious service to the fatherland and for talented and virtuous people; they must show a sympathetic attitude toward the crippled and be ready to help them. In addition, it is necessary to educate youths and teenagers to help them give up the bad habit of using foul language, cursing and behaving rudely without culture, love and reason in human relationships; they must also be urged to display countesy and self-respect in dealing with foreign visitors.

Youths and teenagers must be taught to set a good example by respecting and complying with the law, regulations and customs on life in public places, to maintain and protect places of scenic beauty and historic vestiges, to condemn negative practices and to courageously struggle against deliberate violations of the law and regulations on order, sanitation and social security in crowded places. It is necessary to oppose indifferent attitudes characterized by a lack of compassion and responsibility for the losses and sufferings sustained by other people. Efforts must be exerted to effectively prevent and gradually eliminate thefts, robberies and swindlings in public places. The Youth Union and the cultural sector must effectively help the administration create a cultural environment at bus stations, markets and other public places especially in the former Nam Bo region. The disorderly and unhygienic state of bus and railroad stations and markets must be eliminated and the people and youth must be taught to give up the habit of relieving themselves in rivers because this practice pollutes the water source and will likely spread diseases.

To develop the new lifestyle in public places, it is necessary, on the one hand, to uphold the managerial role of the state, socialist legal system and cultural agencies and, on the other, to highly develop the ownership spirit of the people, especially the youth.

IV. Resolutely Wipe Out All Vestiges of Reactionary and Depraved Culture As Well As Old Social Evils and Ban Old, Backward Customs and Superstitions

U.S. neocolonialism has left behind many serious cultural vestiges and social evils. Every day and moment, we have to fight against the enemy offensive which is aimed at degrading our young people. Therefore, the development of

the socialist new lifestyle among the youth must be linked to the struggle against the sabotage scheme and tricks of the enemy, to the transformation of the former way of life and to the elimination of reactionary and depraved cultural vestiges, social evils and superstitions from the youth's mental life.

Young people must first be helped to clearly realize the noxious and dangerous nature of such types of culture. On the other hand, a campaign must be launched regularly to wipe out the reactionary and depraved culture, to control more strictly tape and cassette-producing installations as well as bookstores and book renting shops and to eradicate installations which illegally print, publish and circulate all types of reactionary and depraved cultural products.

Multiform measures must be taken to intensively instill scientific atheism into youths and teenagers to save them from the influence of dogmas and spiritual powers. The activities conducted by the Youth Union, Youth Federation and Manguard Teenagers Unit must be realistic and specific to provide the right solution to the daily life problems and worries of young people. Collective activities such as sightseeing trips, camping, cultural activities, physical education and sports must be intensively organized to make the youth's leisure time useful and wholesome. It is necessary to educate and tightly control fourtune-tellers, physiognomists and astrologers and to hold debates and exhibitions to uncover their deceitful tricks before public opinion.

Young people must be helped to give up addictions such as smoking and drinking and the bad habit of gambling during festivals.

With a thorough understanding of the above-mentioned four basic themes, union organizations at various echelons and the cultural sector must exercise a uniform, regular and continuous guidance and concentrate on completely implementing specific themes suitable to the situation in each area and to each period of time.

# V. Measures To Be Taken During the Movement

While conducting the movement at the grassroots level, the Youth Union and the cultural sector at all echelons must coordinate with the organizations and sectors concerned to implement the following 10 measures steadily, specifically and creatively:

- 1. Launch among youths and teenagers a movement to formulate and implement covenants on new lifestyle. Efforts must be concentrated immediately on drawing up a covenant on youths' lifestyle, another on wedding rites according to the new lifestyle, another on behavior in public places and another against evils handed down by the former society and against superstitions. These covenants must be used as criteria to instill, urge, control and assess the new lifestyle at each installation.
- 2. Each cultural cadres and each member of the HCMCYU and the Vietnam Youth Federation must be exemplary in carrying out the movement for socialist new lifestyle among the youths and consider it a concrete standard for examining and evaluating the yearly emulation achievements of each individual and collective in the Youth Union and cultural sector.

- 3. Perseveringly guide pilot centers and, especially in important areas, shape models and detect and multiply progressive ones. Each province, district, ward, or precinct, subward and village must guide a pilot center. It is necessary to draw experiences regularly to improve models, to review their achievements periodically and to multiply them urgently and expand them to larger areas.
- 4. Step up the development of cultural life and the building of cultural material bases at the grassroots level. Building the new lifestyle is the composite result of cultural activities at the grassroots level such as the mass literary and artistic movement, information and propaganda activities, exhibitions, film projection, physical education and sports, club and cultural club activities, book and newspaper reading movements and so on.
- 5. Intensify inquiries and research into the lifestyle of youths and teenagers; lifestyle research topics must be included in subject planning by sectors and state agencies at all levels so as to achieve high effectiveness and promptly resolve problems arising from the youth lifestyle.
- 6. Research and propose amendments to certain systems and policies to suit them to the new situation. The various sectors at all levels have already promulgated the necessary systems and policies on this subject matter. However, many provisions are no longer suitable and must be modified and supplemented accordingly. Also, to quickly cope with the actual situation, it is necessary to research and formulate as soon as possible the necessary policies and systems, especially those relating to cadres, to the development of a cultural milieu, to the strengthening of the managerial role of the state and to the struggle between two roads and between us and the enemy in the cultural domain.
- 7. Information, propaganda, press, cultural and artistic media must regularly present advanced models of youth's new lifestyle and stir up social opinion to support and implement the new, civilized and progressive and to criticize and oppose acts contrary to socialist ethics and lifestyle.
- 8. Develop the role of the Youth Union and cultural sector in committees for the guidance of the new lifestyle at all echelons. Initiative must be taken to advise these committees to promptly decide on policies, themes and measures aimed at stepping up the movement for socialist new lifestyle among youths and teenagers; this intensification must focus on principal aspects during fixed periods of time.
- 9. The committees for the guidance of the new lifestyle at all echelons must belp the guidance committee at each installation to properly take the following six steps:
- --First: Based on the substance of guiding documents and covenants drafted at this conference, youths must be organized to participate collectively in formulating new lifestyle covenants and to pledge to emulate in implementing them. Wherever possible, these covenants must be passed by people's councils before being implemented by the entire people.

- -- Second: Guidance committees must be set up to organize, supervise and urge people, youths and teenagers to carry out the above-mentioned pledge.
- --Third: Guidance must be provided for a pilot area to act first to draw experiences and build up a model as an example to be followed by youth.
- --Fourth: Propaganda and information activities and exhibitions must be used to cause social opinion promptly to support persons who strictly implement these covenants and to criticize those who fail to do so.
- --Fifth: Through the medium of "supervisory youth," "security assault youth" and "red star teenager" units, it is necessary to organize regular and sudden supervisory activities of a mass nature.
- --Sixth: Conferences must be convened periodically to extol, reward and recognize titles such as "new culture family," "civilized collective area," "culture-oriented youth," "typical youth's shop counter" and "youth-controlled railroad station" which symbolize the civilized lifestyle.
- 10. It is necessary to intensify research and the study and exchange of experiences as well as observation trips and cooperation among various installations, sectors and localities and also with fraternal socialist countries concerning this subject matter.

Building the socialist new lifestyle is an important part of the ideological and cultural revolution, the substance of the struggle between the socialist and capitalist road with regard to the way of life, and simultaneously the theme of the struggle being waged by us and the enemy in our own country and the world over.

Over the past years, under the leadership of party committees at all levels and owing to the solicituous care of the administration and to the response of the people in all localities, the building of the socialist new lifestyle among the youth has achieved many initial results. By developing the achievements made and by strictly implementing Directive No 51 of the party Central Committee Secretariat and Resolution No 159 of the Council of Ministers in a spirit emulation dedicated to the 10th anniversary of the complete liberation of south Vietnam and to other major holidays in 1985, we believe that the movement to build the socialist new lifestyle among the youth will undergo new favorable changes.

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YOUTH EDUCATION IN NEW LIFESTYLE, FAMILY PLANNING URGED

Hanoi THANH NIEN in Vietnamese Feb 85 pp 26-29

Article by Duc Minh: "The Population Problem in Building a New Lifestyle For Young People"; passages within slantlines in italics?

Text Since recently, the new lifestyle and cultural way of life have become a hotly debated issue at the conferences held by various sectors such as youth, propaganda and training, culture and education. As a result, this issue has been understood more clearly, especially about the important strategic significance of the need to form a new lifestyle with a cultural pattern for the young generation. However, in order to achieve a high degree of unanimity about the concept of /new lifestyle with a cultural pattern/, to find out the characteristics of the new Vietnamese lifestyle and to formulate realistic measures for the social community as a whole and for the youth in particular at the present time, all sectors engaged in social activities must continue to intensify research, investigations and practical experiments into this important issue. Cheers and encouragement must be reserved for persons who raise this question as well as those who propose its solution and also for theoreticians who deal with concepts and viewpoints and for cadres who actually exercise guidance and speak about experiences and specific measures. It must be so because lifestyle or pattern of living is an extremely complex and subtle subject matter that can hardly be evaluated even by means of the most up-todate measuring methods ever devised by sociology and psychology. To make a direct tiny but positive contribution to this grandiose task of the whole society, we will try to analyze more deeply a noteworthy aspect of the shaping of the new lifestyle (cultural pattern of living) for our youth at the present time and under the actual circumstances in our country: What demands are being placed on our youth's new lifestyle by the present rather heavy /population pressure/?

First and foremost, it is impossible to avoid discussing—even cursorily—the concept of new lifestyle. If lifestyle is considered a fundamental notion with broad content and meaning, it must embrace both notions of /raison d'être/ and /pattern of living/—two closely associated facets of the way of life. Raison d'être is a manifestation of the /personality tendency' during one's lifetime which includes the world outlook, philosophy of life, ideal, aspirations and dreams of the individual while pattern of living is the /systematic attitude and acts that have taken and are taking shape/ in the daily activities and practical life of each individual. "What is the objective of life?" is a

question requiring the answerer to clearly define his own raison d'être while "How to live?" is a question requiring us to reply by speaking about our own pattern of living. According to psychological precepts, the raison d'être of each person is always reflected in his entire personality tendency while his pattern of living is fully manifested in his individual nature, abilities and character. Therefore, if raison d'etre is considered the leading, orienting part of the entire lifestyle of each individual, pattern of living then must have a broader content and be a process of motivating and materializing the lifestyle of each person and of shaping individual activities during his practical, active daily life. While it is impossible to say which of these two aspects is more important, we can only say that their close association is most important to form a complete structure for individual lifestyle. In daily social activities and within the mass movement in general and the youth movement in particular, people prefer the word "pattern of living" to "lifestyle" because "pattern of living" illustrates something specific with greater practical meaning. But this must not be a reason for separating pattern of living from raison d'etre so that young people must be taught to clearly understand that all manifestations of the pattern of living can never be detached from raison d'etre. The new pattern of living with a cultural way of life of the new socialist man must absolutely be linked with the revolutionary reason for living and must always be a fundamental, intrinsic part of the socialist way of life. If everyone agrees on this point, the immediate result will be that in daily social relationships we must perhaps avoid strictness and display flexibility and tolerance on hearing many people say "new pattern of living" in preference to "new lifestyle."

The socialist lifestyle in our country and that in the fraternal socialist ones are essentially uniform. This uniformity is absolute because the revolutionary reason for living—the leading part of the socialist lifestyle—is one and the same, that is, the socialist and communist ideal, the lofty and magnificent goal for which we are striving. Nevertheless, when reflected in the pattern of daily living, the socialist lifestyle of each country and nation has its own special nuance originating in the history of struggle, culture, and overall development level of each nation and country and stemming from the socioeconomic targets of their development plan. Viewed from the philosophic—economic angle, population growth or demographic increase is /human reproduction/—one of two fundamental components of /social production/. The population problem in each country thus contributes to further sharpening and setting off the peculiar trait of each country and nation and exerts a deeper and more concrete effect on all aspects of life and naturally a strong influence on human lifestyle and pattern of living.

Population is a major problem confronting our country. The rather strong pressure exerted by our population on our society at the present time is producing many negative effects on daily life and causing many difficulties and contradictions to the movement to build the new lifestyle for the people including the youth. The population boom in our country in the past few decades has led to the present population pressure and tension. Without taking the damage done by this "giant" pressure into consideration, it will be impossible for us to build a pattern of living consistent with the socialist lifestyle. With a birth rate increase of 3 percent and a death rate decrease of

0.7 percent, our country has a yearly natural population increase of about 2.3 percent, which accounts for a rapid population growth: in fact, each day our population increase is equivalent to the emergence of a village with an average population of 4,000, which further aggravates the supply-and-demand disproportion due to the too high human reproduction rate versus the still low material reproduction one. "A narrow piece of land for a large population" coupled with "scanty wealth for too many people" is the root cause of so many negative phenomena in the present societal life. The movement for a new lifestyle is being faced with great challenges and secret or open opposition. Young people and especially Youth Union cadres must, therefore, be armed with sharp and solid theories and concepts to have enough will and ability to bring this revolutionary movement to success. Toward this end, the youth in general and the union cadres in particular must be provided with a specific and realistic program of action to be followed by organizational and exhortative measures and by effective systems and policies conformable to the psychological characteristics of the young generation. All that is not enough, however. Before and while conducting a concrete program of action on the new pattern of living, it is most important to reinforce the youth's theoretical concept and to enable them to grasp the scientific foundation of the new pattern of living and the new socialist lifestyle peculiar to Vietnam.

Especially for the many facets of the population problem facing the new pattern of living of our people and youth at present, we need to carry out intensive and extensive propaganda about various topics related to theory and scientific and technical knowledge. Firstly, one of the most urgent requirements is to help cadres and all members of the Youth Union to firmly grasp the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint on population. This is highly significant and important, for up to now many people still hold that the population problem has "nothing to do" with Marxism-Leninism and claim that of the heaps of Marxist-Leninist theories they have learned so far, none has ever mentioned the "population boom," "population growth pressure" and "family planning"! Truly speaking, we have studied a lot of Marxist-Leninist theories but, for some reason or another, have neglected the viewpoint on population growth and failed to include it in study and training programs. In fact, Marxism-Leninism has expressed many important fundamental views on this subject matter. For example, its concept of /social production/ is as follows:

--The factor having a decisive effect on sociohistoric development is social production. A perfect concept of /social production must cover the origin and direct reproduction of life/. In this respect, it must not be misunderstood that there is only the production of material wealth for society. Production and direct life reproduction are always /essentially composed of two fundamental aspects: production of material wealth and reproduction of man itself/. These are two sides of the coin. They have a reciprocal effect and determine each other. Material production is the factor having a directly decisive effect on human and societal life and consequently determines the reproduction of man itself (that is, the birth of his offspring). Conversely, human reproduction is a prerequisite for material production for the society's benefit.

--Only when achieving a rational equilibrium will material production and human reproduction become an aggregate strength to boost the sociohistoric development process to an ever higher level. Without such equilibrium, they will turn into harmful factors hampering social development and leading to economic weakness in particular and to regression in the overall quality of social life in general.

--Consequently, it must be asserted that /once material production has been planned, it is simultaneously necessary to plan human reproduction/ by resolutely /ensuring/ a balance between these two "plans."

Therefore, to speak of family planning or planned parenthood is precisely to deal with human reproduction according to plan and in conformity with the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint. Though quite conversant with Marxism-Leninism, some persons will display a "complex" whenever they talk about the problem of population and family planning and will even be a little bashful whenever they tackle the "planned childbirth" question during Marxist-Leninist theoretical debates. Human reproduction and its corollaries--population and family planning or planned parenthood--does not in the least disparage the prestige of Marxism-Leninism; on the contrary, omission of these topics--the very ones which have been dealt with by Marxist-Leninist classic authors--will be a shortcoming in studying and applying Marxism-Leninism.

Another important scientific and educational problem to be fully understood before implementing any specific program of action on the youth's new lifestyle is the need to define the principal measures which are related to the population problem and new pattern of living and which young people must understand fully and implement properly. Demographic education—a new specialty of scientific and technical education in today's world—was invented about 15 years ago and has been developed ever more strongly. It embraces a system of scientific and technical knowledge which has been compiled and developed by various scientific and demographic circles and is indispensable for everyone in society, especially the young generation, to build their country and shape a new pattern of living for themselves. During the movement to build the new cultural lifestyle for youth, demographic education must be introduced in propaganda topics, training and advanced training programs and even in the Youth Union activities at the grassroots level.

First and foremost, demographic education will help youth acquire a basic and systematic knowledge of /demography/, beginning with information on population, residents, number of emigrants and immigrants and so on and leading to laws on population growth, population planning and distribution and reciprocal relationships between population growth and socioeconomic development. The present and future new socialist man must firmly grasp this kind of knowledge and apply it in his personal life. Psychology, sociology, economics, pedagogy, ethnology, biology, medicine, genetics, eugenics, and so on are providing scientific data on population for demography, thus contributing to diversifying demographic subject matters. But because of the still limited propaganda and educational conditions and means at our disposal, we cannot yet provide a comprehensive demographic education as expected. Therefore, to promote the current movement for the new lifestyle among the youth, it is necessary to focus on the following specific and principal topics:

- -- The family nucleus (including the parents and children) on a small scale (one or two children for each couple) is the essential condition to build a happy life for the family and entire society.
- --The marriage age must be associated with the mature personality age (20 plus) and women must not have the first child before reaching the age of 22. Uncompromising struggle must be waged against the premature marriage practice still existing in many localities.
- --Young people must be taught to bear children only when qualified for parent-hood--that is, whey they have the sufficient knowledge and ability to give birth to healthy children, to bring them up properly and to educate them to become good children.
- --Young people must be educated to see clearly the principled relationships between the population growth plan and the socioeconomic development plan of the country. For this reason, it is necessary to understand that happiness in sexual relations between husband and wife is a completely personal affair but that childbirth is a social duty which they must fulfill according to the demand of society (population policy of the party and state).
- --Young people must be taught to understand thoroughly certain sociocultural values such as the concept that all children are children (that is, equality between sons and daughters, between one's own children and the adopted ones, between common children and those from the previous marriage, and so on): that only a happy society can make families really happy and that it is necessary to improve the quality of children and reduce their number to improve the Vietnamese race, and so forth.

Family planning (planned childbirth) is one of the important themes of the new lifestyle. Demographic education is precisely a scientific factor enabling young people to carry out family planning in self-enlightenment.

At present, population growth is putting heavy pressure on all aspects of social life and requiring youth to develop their assault role in building a new, appropriate lifestyle to gradually eliminate negative manifestations caused by such pressure. Numerous problems are thus being raised for solution and the most important and urgent one is the /relationships and reciprocal treatment between man and man in a crowded social community and in a situation where the quality of the people's life is still low/. Further research must be done and specific measures devised to resolve problems such as a pattern of living marked by enthusiastic work to produce large quantities of grain and food to improve the nutritional standard of the entire society, such as a revolutionary lifestyle and ideal associated with a professional ideal compatible with the labor distribution requirement of each locality and the whole country, and such as the need for young people to behave and act correctly every day at all places and moments according to the "narrow land for large population" and "little wealth for many people" situation (that is, to economically use grain and food, cloth, energy, and so on; to treat others with a neighborly spirit; to maintain public discipline and order; to respect each other; to behave calmly, courteously and properly in social relationships at public places, and so forth). We hope that this exchange of views on the foregoing topics will draw a strong and continuous response via the magazine THANH NIEN and also in future symposia.

### BIOGRAPHIC

# INFORMATION ON VIETNAMESE PERSONALITIES

[The following information on Vietnamese personalities has been extracted from Vietnamese-language sources published in Hanoi, unless otherwise indicated. Asterisked job title indicates that this is the first known press reference to this individual functioning in this capacity.]

Vu Xuan Ang [VUX XUAAN ANGS]

\*Assistant to the Minister of Foreign Affairs; in March 1985 he attended the departure of a military delegation leaving for a visit to India. (HANOI MOI 27 Mar  $85\ p\ 1)$ 

Nguyen Van Bo [NGUYEENX VAWN BOOF], Colonel

Recently he attended a meeting organized by HANOI MOI to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the victory of the Resistance against America for National Salvation. (HANOI MOI 27 Mar 85 p 2)

Nguyễn Hồng Can [NGUYEENX HOONGF CANR]

Vice Minister of Marine Products; in April 1985 he was present to welcome a Russian delegation visiting Vietnam to attend a meeting on Russian-Vietnamese fishery cooperation. (HANOI MOI 16 Apr 85 p 4)

Ly Hai Chau [LYS HAIR CHAAU]

Director of the Van Hoc Publishing House; his article on a book by Ho Chi Minh appeared in the cited source. (NHAN DAN 18 May 85 p 2)

La Ngoc Chau [LAX NGOCJ CHAAU], \*Major General

\*Political Officer of the Army Officers School I; his article about his school appeared in the cited source. (HANOI MOI 14 Apr 85 p 1)

Vu Xuan Chiem [VUX XUAAN CHIEEM], Lieutenant General

Vice Minister of National Defense; on 6 April 1985 he attended an awards ceremony in Gia Lai-Kon Tum. (HANOI MOI 7 Apr 85 p 4)

Ta Quang Chien [TAJ QUANG CHIEENS]

Director General of the Physical Education and Sports General Department; \*Vice Chairman of the Steering Committee of the first Physical Education and Sports Congress; from 21 April to 10 May 1985 he toured the Southern provinces. (THE DUC THE THAO 14 May 85 p 1)

To Dinh Co [TOO DINHF COW]

Chairman of the People's Committee, Nghia Binh Province; on 3 April 1985 he was present at a meeting to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the liberation of his province. (HANOI MOI 5 Apr 85 p 1)

Nguyen Chức [NGUYEENX CHUWCS], Major General

Deputy Commander of the 5th Military Region; on 2 April 1985 he was present at a meeting in Dalat to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the liberation of Lam Dong Province. (HANOI MOI 4 Apr 85 p 1)

Ha Quang Du [HAF QUANG ZUWJ]

Second Secretary of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union; on 11 March 1985 he was with a group of officials that welcomed a Portuguese delegation visiting Hanoi. (HANOI MOI 12 Mar 85 p 4)

Tran Dugc [TRAANF ZUWOWCJ], Colonel

Recently he attended a meeting organized by HANOI MOI to commemorate the  $10\,\mathrm{th}$  anniversary of the victory of the Resistance against America for National Salvation. (HANOI MOI 27 Mar  $85\,\mathrm{p}$  1)

Trong Khanh [DOOX TRONGJ KHANH]

\*Vice Chairman of the People's Committee, Nghia Hung District, Ha Nam Ninh Province; his article on production of export products appeared in the cited source. (Nam Dinh HA NAM NINH 16 Apr 85 p 3)

Y Ngông Niệc Đam [Y NGOONG NIEECS DAM]

Member of the CPV Central Committee; Secretary of the CPV Committee, Dac Lac Province; on 9 March 1985 he gave a speech at a meeting to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the liberation of Ban Me Thuot. (HANOI MOI 10 Mar 85 p 4)

Nguyen Van Khieu [NGUYEENX VAWN KHIEEUS]

Acting Director of Asia Department 1, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; on 20 March 1985 he attended a conference with the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia. (HANOI MOI 21 Mar 85 p 1)

Tran Ba Khue [TRAANF BAS KHUEE], \*Major General

\*Deputy Director of the Dalat Army Academy; on 2 April 1985 he attended a meeting in Dalat to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the liberation of Lam Dong Province. (HANOI MOI 4 Apr 85 p 1)

Nguyen Lai [NGUYEENX LAIJ], Colonel

Recently he attended a meeting organized by HANOI MOI to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the victory of the Resistance against America for National Salvation. (HANOI MOI 27 Mar 85 p 1)

Le Van Kien [LEE VAWN KIEENS]

Secretary of the CPV Committee, Long An Province; his article about his province appeared in the cited source. (NHAN DAN 15 May 85 p 2)

Phan Liem [PHAN LIEEM], Colonel

\*Deputy Commander of 4th Corps; on 2 April 1985 he attended a meeting in Dalat to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the liberation of Lam Dong Province. (HANOI MOI 4 Apr 85 p 1)

Vu Khac Lien [VUX KHAWCS LIEEN]

Vice Minister of Culture; on 9 April 1985 he attended a reception by XUNHASABA (Periodicals and Books Export-Import Corporation) on the occasion of the 115th anniversary of Lenin's birth. (HANOI MOI 11 Apr 85 p 4)

Pham Ngoc Phung [PHAMJ NGOCJ PHUNGJ], Colonel

Chairman of History Department of the Senior Military Academy; on 10 April 1985 he attended a seminar on World War II. (HANOI MOI 16 Apr 85 p 1)

Vu Minh [VUX MINH]

\*Head of the Science and Education Department of the CPV Committee, Ha Nam Ninh Province; on 3 April 1985 he participated in a provincial health fair. (Nam Dinh HA NAM NINH 9 Apr 85 p 1)

Cao Pha [CAO PHA], Major General

Deputy Director of Military History Institute; on 9 April 1985 he attended a conference on "The Victorious Force of the Resistance Against America for National Salvation." (HANOI MOI 11 Apr 85 p 1)

Le van Pham [LEE VAWN PHAAMR]

Member of the Central Committee of the CPV; Secretary of the CPV Committee; Tien Giang Province; he was present at an award ceremony for Nguyen Thi Thap, President of the Women's Federation. (PHU NU VIETNAM 8-14 May 85 p 1)

Nguyen Van Phung [NGUYEENX VAWN PHUNGF]

\*Director of Institute of Party History; on 9 April 1985 he attended a conference on "The Victorious Force of the Resistance Against America for National Salvation." (HANOI MOI 11 Apr 85 p 1)

Nguyen Van Tan [NGUYEENX VAWN TAANF], Lieutenant Colonel

Political Director of the 7th Division; on 2 April 1985 he attended a meeting in Dalat to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the liberation of Lam Dong Province. (HANOI MOI 4 Apr 85 p 1)

Ngo Van Tac [NGOO VAWN TACS], Colonel

Hero of the Armed Forces; on 18 May 1985 he attended a meeting in Hanoi to celebrate the 95th birthday of President Ho Chi Minh. (NHAN DAN 19 May 85 p 1)

Nguyên Kim Quang [NGUYEENX KIM QUANG]

Vice President of Can Tho University; his article about his university appeared in the cited source. (DAI DOAN KET 8 May 85 p 13)

Vu Quang [VUX QUANG]

Member of the Central Committee of the CPV; Head of the CPV Central Committee International Department; on 15 April 1985 he attended a wreath laying ceremony at the Embassy of Albania in Hanoi. (HANOI MOI 16 Apr 85 p 4)

Pham Xuan Que [PHAMJ XUAAN QUEES]

Head of the General Department of the Committee for Economic and Cultural Cooperation with Laos and Cambodia; on 22 March 1985 he was at a conference to commemorate the 30th anniversary of People's Revolutionary Party of Laos. (HANOI MOI 21 Mar 85 p 1)

Hoang Bich Son [HOANGF BICHS SOWN]

Ambassador, Special Envoy of Chairman of the Council of Ministers Pham Van Dong; on 23 February 1985 he visited Surinam on the occasion of the 5th anniversary of that nation's revolution. (HANOI MOI 5 Mar 85 p 1)

Nguyen Tan Trinh [NGUYEENX TAANS TRINHJ]

\*Member of the Central Committee of the CPV; Minister of Marine Products; in mid-April he welcomed a Russian delegation visiting Vietnam to attend a meeting on Russian-Vietnamese fishery cooperation. (HANOI MOI 16 Apr 85 p 4)

Trinh Trang [TRINHJ TRANG]

Deputy Chief of the Socialist Section of the International Department of the Central Committee; on 20 March 1985 he attended a conference with the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia. (HANOI MOI 21 Mar 85 p 1)

DO Quang Thang [DOOX QUANG THAWNGS]

Secretary of the CPV Committee, Nghia Binh Province; on 3 April 1985 he attended a meeting to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the liberation of his province. (HANOI MOI 5 Apr 85 p 1)

Nguyễn Công Thăng [NGUYEENX COONG THAWNGS]

Vice Minister of Public Health; on 11 April 1985 he welcomed a delegation from the Congo visiting Ho Chi Minh City. (HANOI MOI 14 Apr 85 p 4)

Nguyễn Thị Thấp [NGUYEENX THIJ THAAPJ]

\*Former Member of the Central Committee of the CPV; Vice Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly; President of the Vietnam Women's Federation; on 26 April 1985 she was awarded the Gold Star Medal by Pham Hung, Member of the Central Committee of the CPV and Vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers. (PHU NU VIETNAM 8-14 May 85 p 1)

Le Thiet [LEE THIEETS], Lieutenant Colonel

Recently he attended a meeting organized by HANOI MOI to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the victory of the Resistance against America for National Salvation. (HANOI MOI 27 Mar 85 p 2)

Trinh Thanh Van [TRINHJ THANH VAAN], Colonel

In March 1985, he attended a meeting organized by HANOI MOI to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the victory of the Resistance against America for National Salvation. (HANOI MOI 27 Mar 85 p 1)

Tran Danh Tuyen [TRAANF ZANH TUYEEN]

Chairman of the Vietnam-Japan Friendship Association; on 19 March 1985 he attended a movie show to commemorate the 20th anniversary of his association. (HANOI MOI 21 Mar 85 p 1)

# END OF FICHE DATE FILMED

16 JULY 85

